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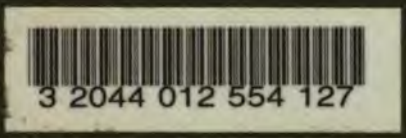
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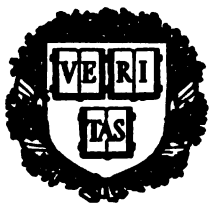

FROM THE BEQUEST OF
JAMES WALKER
(Class of 1814)
President of Harvard College

"Preference being given to works in the Intellectual and Moral Sciences"

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COUNCIL OF TRENT;

PRINCIPALLY DERIVED FROM

MANUSCRIPT AND UNPUBLISHED RECORDS,

NAMELY,

HISTORIES, DIARIES, LETTERS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS, OF THE LEADING ACTORS IN THAT ASSEMBLY.

WITH PLATES.

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH MENDHAM, M. A.

Cætera item omnia à sacris Canonibus, et œcumenicis Conciliis, ac præcipue à sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascumque ab Ecclesia damnatas, rejectas, et anathematizatas, ego pariter damno, rejicio, et anathematizo.

Bulla Pii IV. super forma juramenti professionis fidei. Bullar. Mag. *In sacrosancta.* 1564.

LONDON:

JAMES DUNCAN, 37, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXXIV.

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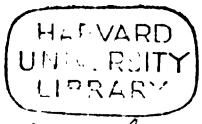


1875, March 22.

Walker Bequest.

'He,' Pallavicino, 'frequently quotes the Acts of the Council; the Vatican, it seems, is 'furnished with plenty of them; the Acts of *Palcottus*, of *Mensottus*, of the bishop of *Sala-* 'manca, &c. O how thankful would many men be to his holiness, would he bless the world 'with the sight of these! yea, what would they not willingly give to purchase them! If 'then they are such as will abide the test, why are they still kept under lock and key? Is 'it not to be suspected, that the wares are adulterate, when the merchant will not be per- 'suaded to bring them into the light? Is the Court of Rome so self-denying, as not to pub- 'lish those things, which make for their advantage? May we not then conclude, that either 'they are such as will not endure the trial; or in case they will, that besides what makes 'for them, they contain those matters also, which make more against them?'

The Necessity of Reformation, with respect to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome. The Second Part. [By NICHOLAS STRATFORD, afterwards Bishop of Chester.] Ed. 1686, p. 60.

London: Printed by W. CLOWES, Duke-street, Lambeth.

TO

GREGORY XVI.

SOVEREIGN AND PONTIFF OF ROME,

TO WHOM IT IS COMPETENT TO ATTEMPT THE ONLY MEANS, WHICH, IF ADOPTED, WOULD BE EFFECTUAL,

OF EXONERATING HIS CHURCH

FROM THE CONTINUED CHARGE

OF SUPERSTITION AND IDOLATRY, OF PERFIDY, CRUELTY, AND ASSUMED DOMINION OVER SECULAR SOVEREIGNS,

BY CALLING A COUNCIL,

FOR THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF CONDEMNING AND ABOLISHING EVERY ENORMITY WHICH CLASSES ITSELF UNDER THOSE OFFENSIVE HEADS;

THE PRESENT MEMOIRS

OF A COUNCIL, TO WHICH, WITH OTHERS, THEY ARE PRINCIPALLY INDEBTED FOR THEIR ORIGIN OR ESTABLISHMENT,

ARE NOT IRREVERENTLY ADDRESSED

BY ONE OF THE BEST WISHERS TO HIS TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL WELFARE,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE two principal and celebrated historians of the Council of Trent are Fra Paolo Sarpi and Cardinal Pallavicino; the former a Romanist by continued communion with the Roman church, although essentially not far removed from the faith of a protestant; the other a complete and determined adherent, as well as advocate, of the Italian see. The history of the latter, written with the professed design of confuting and demolishing that of the former, has, in the judgment of the intelligent and equitable even of his own communion, only served to confirm the substantial accuracy of the work assailed by him*. That the cardinal, with all his good will to accomplish what he had undertaken, and with every facility, encouragement, and advantage, which he enjoyed, from free and unbounded access to the original, although probably universally partial, documents in the Vatican, should yet fail in the attempt at substantiating a single charge of moment against the object of his hostility is surely one of the strongest and most unexceptionable testimonials in its favour, which it could well have received. In his cordial endeavour, therefore, to do the work of an enemy, he has performed for his intended victim a better service than could readily have been afforded by his best friend. Its full effect has been given to this advantage in favour of the original historian of the last even

* See De Tribus Historicis Conc. Trid. Auct. Cæs. Aquilinio, Ant. 1662. See likewise the conclusion of the Preface to the viith vol. of Le Plat's Collectio Monumentorum Conc. Trid.

nominally general council, by the excellent translation of it into French, by the very congenial Courayer, who, by adopting the real corrections, and by exposing the fallacies and misrepresentations of the latter historian, has pressed an unwilling witness into the service of truth, and obliged him to strengthen a cause which he sought to destroy.

There is a deficiency in both these historians, which, with the present and just views of historic evidence, is to be lamented—they both fail in a precise and satisfactory reference to their sources or authorities. The Venetian may indeed, from being nearly contemporary with the facts which he records, be considered himself as an original. But he was not personally conversant with them; and it is known, that he derived the chief portion of his information both from those who were so, and from existing documents, which, upon subsequent examination, have been found to attest his fidelity*. The Roman has indeed made a considerable

* From Courayer's Life of Fra Paolo, prefixed to the translation of his history, ed. 4to, Basle, 1738, it appears, that when at Mantua, he became acquainted with Camillo Oliva, secretary to the cardinal of Mantua, from whom he might obtain abundance of suitable and authentic information; besides that he had free access to the archives of Venice, which, from its proximity to, and intimate concern with, the council, would leave little of importance to be learnt elsewhere. In a letter of the historian, referred to, of July 22d, 1608, speaking of some printed works, of which he had obtained a sight, and wishing to see more, he continues—'for I have 'written something of it,' (the council,) 'myself, more than all this, as I 'have made collections from other Memoirs, which I have met with in these 'parts,' &c. Brown's Translation, Letter viii, p. 28. The Memoirs are alluded to again in the xxxvth Letter, Oct. 13, 1609. He always writes cautiously, as he needed. Courayer has blamed him for not pointing out his sources more frequently; but this might have been unsafe for those who supplied him with his information. The English reader is much indebted to the Rev. B. W. Mathias for rendering the substance of Fra Paolo's history more accessible to him; and likewise for making him acquainted with the entire of the canons and decrees of the council in his own language. The more valuable remaining portion of his work is expected with anxiety.

parade of reference; but, independently of the suspicion which must fairly attach to him in all cases, when his cause would benefit by suppression, his references, being to manuscript and unpublished works, if they had been intended, or calculated, to preclude hesitation, should have presented to the reader the identical words of the originals. This is the least which might reasonably be required in such a work as the apologetic and censorial one of the Italian cardinal; for even then a reader far from captiously rigid might, in many cases, demur.

It is not the object of the present more humble undertaking professedly either to confirm or confute, to correct or supersede, the above mentioned, or any other inferior histories of the Tridentine Synod. Its object is, to throw additional light upon a very important event in human and particularly ecclesiastical history, in any of the ways which have been stated, as the result may be, from sources, hitherto unpublished—sources, for the most part, still in manuscript; of an authentic and important character; the identical ones, indeed, I have no hesitation in believing, from which the papal historian drew a large proportion of his materials; although with a fidelity which no one can conscientiously pronounce to be placed above the reach of suspicion.

It may be justly expected that I should substantiate these assertions. I am in possession of a rather copious collection of manuscript volumes in folio, and of varied but competent bulk, on the subject of the Council of Trent, formerly the property of the Earl of Guilford, and forming a part of his unique and very valuable library, dispersed not many years ago. I purchased the collection, consisting of twenty-eight volumes, from Mr. Thorpe, in 1832. The greater part appear to have constituted a portion of some public or extensive library, or libraries in different parts of Italy and

Venice—the product, not improbably, of the spoliation of the collections of cardinals, or other opulent individuals interested in ecclesiastical matters, during the time in which the French were masters of that portion of the world. This conjecture is confirmed by circumstantial or internal evidence. They are probably none of them originals, but copies, of varying age; and there are among them duplicates of a part or the whole of the separate volumes.

I will describe them as satisfactorily as may be in their natural order.

I. and II. These are duplicates, and contain a general and complete history of the council from the first to the last Session. The first is entitled Diario del Concilio di Trento diviso in Otto Libri. The name of the author is not added; but the Venetian ambassador, Niccolo da Ponte, is mentioned by Pallavicino, Ist. del Conc. Trid. xxiv, xi, 11, as having written an account of the council. This, although an extended history, is evidently derived and partially at least abridged from a larger one. This is formally announced in the beginning of the second book, where the writer speaks of 'his author,' and in other places, where in particular he takes the liberty of curtailing the rather lengthy discussions occasionally introduced in his original. The only difference which I have observed between this volume and its duplicate, and which will be noticed is, in the presence of a single paragraph, less than a page, which is absent from the latter.

This latter has for its title Diario del Concilio di Trento ove si descrive quanto in esso occorse descritto in 4 libri dal Ambasciatore Veneto. The number written is 4; but there are eight regularly numbered books, as in the first volume. The passage here omitted is in the penultimate page of the other duplicate. It has relation to the cardinal of Lorraine; and the final page of the present volume, in

which it should be found, is in a hand-writing different from that of the rest of the volume. Courayer, speaking, in the Preface to his translation of the Council of Trent, p. 15, of this MS, of which a copy was in his hands, as he plainly does, and ascribing it, not to the ambassador, but to his secretary, represents it, not without considerable appearance of truth, as a simple abridgment of Fra Paolo's history. The coincidence is remarkable: but it may have arisen as well from both writers using a common original, as from the one copying from the other. At any rate, however, the present MS represents generally, and therefore confirms, the narrative of the published historian, and serves, in the present history, to maintain its course and connexion from a source in some respects new. With this explanation, it is superfluous to apologize for having sometimes, and in defect of better, in the class to which I mainly confine myself, used it as a guide.

III. The title of the next volume is Dell' Historia del Sacro Concilio di Trento Scritta da Antonio Milledoni Secrio. del Consiglio de *X* di Venetia in detto Concilio Libri Duc. Libro Primo. The first book is occupied by a compendious general history of the Christian church up to the time of the council, with which the second begins, and, as usual, with an account of Luther and his performances. The history extends to the close of the council, but in a very abridged form, except in the final sessions, which are given extendedly: as however agreeing in substance with the preceding histories, and with the known printed ones, it has its value in the way of confirmation. Its general character is very secular; and the writer is a sufficient bigot on trying points. I do not discover any reference to this volume in Pallavicino.

IV. The next work, Summarium Sacri Concilii Tridentini Bononiensis, is a very important one. It embraces

only the first assembly of the council from 1545 to 1547, but the history itself extends from 1544 to 1549. There is no name in the title; but at the beginning of the second session, (it is necessary so to indicate the place, as there are no numbers of pages or leaves,) from the words *per me Angelum Massarellum Secretarium Concilii,* and from identical designations towards the end, it is evident to whom we are indebted for the work. In the last volume of Le Plat's valuable Collectio Monumentorum, &c. are inserted some fragments under the name of the Secretary, but they have nothing of the completeness, extent, and particularity of the present manuscript. This volume contains all the canons and decrees of the council, together with lists of the members present at each session, as well as detailed accounts of the various congregations. This, I apprehend, is the identical work used by Pallavicino. See Ist. xi, xi, i. I cannot quite satisfy myself that it is the same manuscript as is mentioned by Courayer, in his Preface, p. xiv.

V. For the period, more or less, of the first assembly of the council, there are volumes of Letters; the first of which is—Littere Conciliari scritte dalli Legati, al Car^le^. Farnese nella Apertura che si fece del Concilio a Trento nell' anno 1545. Li Legati furono il Card^l^. de Monte che fu poi Papa Giulio terzo; il Card^l^. de S^ta^. Croce che fu poi Papa Marcello, Et il Card^l^. Polo Inglese, homini sapientissimi et valorosiss^l^. Cardinal Farnese was grandson of Pope Paul III, and a complete man of business. This volume, which is peculiar as having the leaves numbered, is, without doubt, one of the collection, either in whole or in part, so constantly appealed to by the Italian historian *. The letters extend

* See near the beginning of the iid book of his history, writing of the legates—Dimandarono anco una cifra per poter communicare le cose di

from March 13, 1545, to May 22, 1546. There is, however, a hiatus from January 22, 1546, to March 2 of the same year, which is supplied by another epistolary collection, marked No. VII. The age of this manuscript is pretty satisfactorily ascertained by a marginal note against the name *Buoncompagno*, in the same hand, *Hora Papa Gregorio* 13. fol. 174, verso. It was, therefore, written between the years 1572 and 1585. The style of the writing accords with this age.

VI. This volume is a duplicate of the immediately preceding one up to January 22, 1546, fol. 193, from which the immediately succeeding volume starts, the first date being February 1, 1546. There are two additional sets of letters in the volume. It has no title; but the contents are, Lettere — de' Card. Leg. in Concilio di Trento, 1545 to 1546; del Card. Farnese, 1542 to 1548; di Negotii, 1548 to 1549. The additional letters are mostly of a secular and uninteresting description; but the whole collection may occasionally subserve useful purposes, particularly in correcting readings.

VII. The collection which bears the title Lettere scritte da diversi Ministri de Prencipi dal Concilio di Trento all' Ill^mo. S^r. Cardinale Farnese, is certainly the most valuable of the three. Courayer appears to have had a copy lent him, and states somewhat of an expectation that it might be printed—an expectation, like many others, not verified by the event. The date of the first letter is, as has been said before, February 1, 1546; the last is the last day of the same year. There is a chasm of all June to July 17. The

maggior momento. Le quali particolarità, insieme con molte altre che si diranno, havendole tratte dal registro delle lettere del cardinale del Monte, e servendo molto per penetrare l' intimo delle trattationi, non ho voluto tacerle. The fact referred to will appear in its place.

name of the individual writer not unfrequently appears in the body of the letters, although they are almost all official. It should be added, that many of them are addressed to other persons than the one named in the title, and that Farnese himself is joined with the legates, when he was present at Trent on his return from a legation to Germany. Pallavicino has used this collection copiously in the first part of his history. It contains some letters not occurring in the preceding collections, even for the periods in which they coincide.

Here terminate my manuscript documents as concerns the first assembly of the Tridentine synod. I am sorry that I cannot pursue the course into the second assembly in 1551 and 1552 by any particular documents, and must therefore, as to originals, content myself with the general histories which have been described. This, however, is the less to be regretted since authority of the same kind has been put in possession of the British and Gallic public, by the publication of the valuable and evidently authentic letters of Vargas to the bishop Arras, on the subject of the Council of Trent, first by our countryman, the diligent and acute Dr. Michael Geddes, in his Council of Trent no free Assembly, 1697, and shortly afterwards, 1700, in French by Le Vassor, in his Lettres et Mémoires de Franc. de Vargas. Both these writers might have detailed more clearly and explicitly the circumstances of the original manuscripts, but there cannot be the slightest doubt of *their* integrity and of the genuineness of their alleged *originals*. And I must say, that it is a circumstance not in the highest degree favourable to the otherwise unimpeachable judgment and candour of the laborious Le Plat, that in the Preface, p. vi, to the first volume of his Monumenta, he should have disposed of the authenticity of these records so flippantly as he has done.

But the man who could regard the bishop of Meaux's Variations as a conclusive book might be expected at times to resign the sound part of his understanding. The remainder of our manuscript documents belongs to the final assembly of the council under Pius IV in the years 1562 and 1563.

VIII. The first of these is Diario del Concilio di Trento sotto Pio Papa IV. The author announces himself at the very beginning as Jo. Astolfo Servantio of S. Severino in the Marca d' Ancona, and as having been present at the council in 1562 and 1563, where he officiated as scribe of conciliar affairs, and wrote for his own curiosity and amusement, having minutely observed every thing from day to day and even from hour to hour. His name appears likewise more correctly written at the beginning of the appended matter, being a short account of what happened immediately after the council had risen, but principally a collection of the documents concerned. It begins with the year 1560, called the first, that is, within the first year of the pontificate of Pius IV, and proceeds with most minute detail to the close of the council, including a variety of public documents essential to a perfect comprehension of the proceedings and spirit of the Tridentine fathers. This author is noticed in Pallavicino *.

IX. The second document which I have to describe relating to the same period is the following:—Acta Concilii Tridentini Anno MDLXII & MDLXIII usque in finem Concilii Pio IV. Pont. Max. & alia multa circa dict. Concilium Fragmenta. A Gabriele Cardinale Paleotto descripta. This is an extended and highly valuable history, and is one of the principal fountains from which Pallavicino drew his intelligence for the corresponding period †. This author likewise was a party in the scenes and acts which he records.

* Ist. xvi, 4. † Ist. xv, 13, 4.

X. The next which follows is—Lettere dei SS^ri. Cardinali Legati del Concilio Trident^o.,· e di Monsig^r. Visconti scritte a S. Carlo Borromeo Nipote di Pio IV, et al Bindoni Divise in in (*sic*) due tomi. Tomo P^o. Degl' anni MDLXII e MDLXIII. There is, however, a third volume continuing Visconti's Letters, as expressed in the general title. The first letter of this third volume is dated December 10, 1562, and the last date is September 22, 1563. In the edition published of this portion of the letters in the original, and with a French translation on the opposite page by Mr. Aymon at Amsterdam, in 1719, in two volumes, 12mo, the first letter does not commence before the date of February 1, 1563, and the last is September 6, 1563. So far then they are not perfectly new; but as the printed edition is deficient, and verbal variations occur, the present MS loses very little of its original character and value. The pontifical apologist of the Council has availed himself of this collection, as might be expected; but as Courayer, with great probability, states, from his own inspection of a copy of this MS, the first historian of the Council enjoyed the same advantage before, and made good use of it. The notes of the translator are enriched with proofs of this fact in the rather copious extracts and references which he has made *. It may be observed, that although the letters of the legates, which begin the volume, have, for the first date, December 17, 1562, those of Visconti, which begin at No. 39, (for they are numbered,) commence with a prior date, May 22, 1562; and it is remarkable, a great, if not the greater, portion of them is in cipher, at least the first; the caution seems afterwards to have become unnecessary.

XI. The succeeding volume is of a miscellaneous de-

* See Pref., p. xvi, and liv. vi, &c. passim.

scription, and not very bulky, entitled Diverse Instruttioni, Lettere, e Scritture appartenenti al Concilio di Trento. They are principally Missives from the different papal sovereigns in Europe who took a part in the Council.

XII. The last document, which it will be necessary to describe, is of the same character, but of greater extent. Its title, or rather its first title, is, Varia Tractata Sacri Conc. Tridentini cum ejus Indice in fine. It was intended to be at the end, but is at the beginning, and contains, additionally to the first title, the titles of a vast variety of Letters, Answers, Instructions, &c. The volume consists of 472 folia — numbered, which is unusual. In fact, the variety of matter could not well be indicated by an Index without. The pieces are in Latin, Italian, and Spanish.

The remaining volumes are of less, although by no means of slight importance. The first set is a work of large dimensions. It consists of six volumes of very large-sized paper closely written; and is a transcript of Fra Paolo's History of the Council in Italian, corrected by Pallavicino's history in very extended notes, partly the author's own, and perfectly hostile. The author is Giambattista Rinalducci. From a private letter attached to an early page of the work, it appears, that it was written about the year 1665. This letter is a very curious one, being from the dictation of Pallavicino himself, and signed with his autograph. It is an answer to the author, who had put part of his work into his hands for the purpose of obtaining his judgment; and the judgment, although sheltered under compliment, is evidently discouraging as to the publication. One reason is grounded upon the illegality in the Roman church, that is, by the regulations of the Index, to republish any work, which has been condemned, as of Luther or Calvin, although accompanied with an answer, or antidote; and the

writer is evidently alarmed at the thought of his old foe appearing in his own and entire strength *. The general plan of this writer has been adopted with great success by Courayer; and no advantage would be derived from the present manuscript, except it might be in the larger extent of the citations from the Cardinal.

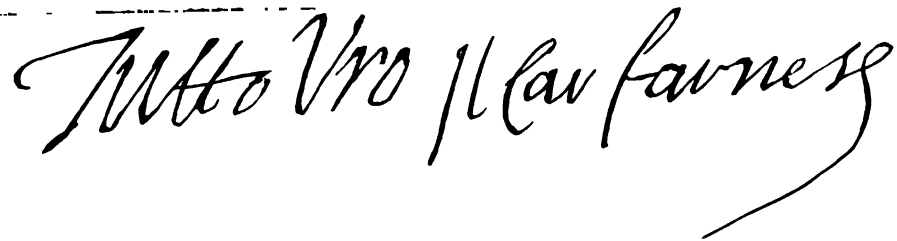
The next and final work is Declarationes Concilii Tridentini, in eight large volumes, being the Declarations of

* But the letter possesses sufficient interest as well as curiosity to be given entire in the original. It is directed Al Molt' Ill^re. Sig^re. Gio. Batta Rinalducci. The letter is as follows:—

Molt' Ill^re. Sig^re.

Quando l' altr' ieri rimandai à VS. que' fogli della sua traduzion francese commisi unitam^te. al mio Palafreniere che la pregasse di voler esser meco al Giardino, disegnando io di ragionar con lei sopra la sua opera contra 'l Soave. Ma il Palafreniere non la trovò, e ben che lasciasse l' Ambasciata non le sarà stata poi fatta. Onde per non indugiar piu lungam^te. à dirnele il mio giudicio secondo la sua intanza, debbo significarle, come per quella poca particella ch' io n' ho veduta, mi par lavoro pieno di molto discorse di molta erudizione, e che quivi tutto il mio componim^to. sia come un fiume ch' entra nel mare, e che vi perderebbe il nome s' ella non gliel' havesse cosi onorevolm^te. serbato. Ne questo suo libro potrebbe uscir da Intellecto che mon fosse molto capace degli affari del Mondo. Due difficoltà vi scorgo; la prima intorno ad ottener la publicaz^ne. peròche essendo piu distesam^te. rapportato tutto il Testo del Soave, il concederne l' impressione sarebbe lo stesso, che levare al Soave la proibizione. E benche il veleno sia piu corretto con l' antidoto; non mancherebbono tuttavia palati stravaganti, che vorrebbono mangiarlo senza l' antidoto, ò che per difetto del loro stomaco non riceverebbono da questo la conveniente preservazione. E cosi veggiamo che à niun controvertista è permesso di stampare al lato della sua opera quelle di Calvino, di Lutero, e simiglianti. La seconda difficoltà riguarda la sodisfazione comune: imperòche havendo ella voluto esaminar abbondantem^te. ogni sillaba del Soave; chiunque non è passionato nella causa riceve sazietà da queste minuzzerie: e per tal ragione le Apologie, e le Contrapologie, quando son lunghe di mole, soglion' esser brevi di vita: mancando assai presto quel fervor di curiosità, che ad un certo modo, appassiona tutti nella contesa: Onde poi non si curano gli huomini di spender lunga lezione in contrasti per lo più tenui ed appartenenti più tosto alla riprensione dell' Avversario in qualch' errore di sua penna, che allo scoprimento di qualche verità rilevante. Cio mi occorre di rappresentare à VS. con quella ingenuità che à mè è naturale con tutti, ed à lei è gradita in tutti. E per fine mi le offero di tutto cuore. Di Casa il di 19. d' Ap^le. 1665.

Al Servizio di VS. affet^o



AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE TO THE LETTER OF S. CARDL PALLAVICINO.

Preface. Page XVI.

the Congregation instituted for the Interpretation of the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. Selections have been published from this work; as may be seen in the edition of the canons and decrees by Gallemart, in the Admonitio Lectori: he has transcribed a considerable portion in his edition. The whole, however, has been lately printed in Rome by Zamboni. In my MS the course of the sessions is gone over, three, or perhaps four, times; and the latest date, for they are not in perfect chronological order, appears to be 1658 *.

In the present work, although it is my intention mainly to give the information, which is supplied by the new and generally inaccessible documents above specified, I shall not consider myself as strictly confined to them, but shall freely make use of such materials, already in possession of the public, as may be necessary to continuity in the narration, or which, for any justifiable reason, may be supposed acceptable to the reader.

The Council of Trent occupies a page in the annals of the world of high importance in many respects. As a simple exhibition of human character, particularly as assuming a corporate form for the time, it is interesting and instructive to the philosopher. But in its reference to religion, or Christianity, which is its appropriate aspect; in its reference further to the two great divisions, into which Christendom was severed by the progressive, overwhelming, and intolerable corruption of the dominant portion, a corruption which, if any even human virtue remained on the earth, rendered separation an imperative duty and unavoidable,

* See Historical Memoirs, &c. by C. Butler, Esq. i, 483, and following pages, where the author gives a French gentleman's account of the Vatican MSS of the Council, from inspection of them when in Paris. The account is very unsatisfactory; and the secretary's name, Massarelli, is constantly misspelt Massaret.

its interest and instruction receive a tenfold increase. Various efforts were made by individuals, and portions of society, to disengage themselves from the prevailing iniquity: but the most definite and decisive were those, which were put forth, when that iniquity had arrived at its full strength and confidence, in the event, which is emphatically called The Reformation. The irresistible progress of this holy resistance, as in the main it was, to the empire of heresy and crime, obliged the secular powers, for their own secular tranquillity, to endeavour to obtain a settlement of the troubles of which this secession was the occasion. For as no tyrant sits down patiently under the abstraction of his ill-gotten power, so the withdrawal of submission and contribution from the spiritual despot of Rome, however quietly performed, aroused all the feelings of revenge and persecution, in himself and his ministers; and by aggressions commenced on the part of those ministers, the public peace was sorely violated. The secular princes, finding themselves unable to compose a storm, which greatly annoyed them, and conscious that it was not perfectly their own province, looked to the spirituality, and particularly to a solemn assembly of its knowledge and virtue, in other words a general council of the church. This was a very natural feeling, and the best measure which could be adopted. And in defiance of general opinion, and of general ridicule, I feel no hesitation to say, that if Christian councils, whether great or small, were composed of members of average sanctity and information, in a state of the church not eminently forsaken by the Holy Spirit, much good and satisfaction might be the result of their ultimate decisions. Such a council, if in any real sense free, and controlled, or guided by men of the description just given, might, in answer to sincere and earnest prayer, have reason to believe, and the world

likewise, that what it decreed was the will of the Divine Spirit. But probably the disease had arrived at such a point of malignity, as to be past the season of natural remedy, or in just judgment denied the benefit of it. In the council actually, and at last, convened, not, there is too much reason to believe, for the establishment, but for the subversion, of truth, there was so much obstinate adherence to error, so much horror of all that could convict or rectify it, so much secularity and love of vice, and so much of consequent imposition and intrigue, that if ever a body of men were collected, whom the Holy Spirit could not meet and own, it was the Council of Trent. This assembly, therefore, as to the ends, for which it was professedly called, was a perfect nullity. It was a nullity, however, as an idol is a nullity, yet imposing upon the worshipper the guilt of idolatry. The positive mischief which it was calculated to produce would have been extreme, had it not, like some other noxious agents, conveyed somewhat of an antidote by the same channel which discharged the *poison*. *That* antidote was—the disgrace which it procured for the rulers of the system, which it strove to uphold, and which sufficiently deterred every conscientious individual, who escaped its pale, from again being inveigled into it. A nullity, indeed, it was as to its direct and professed object: but its tendencies were of the most baneful description. It was, indeed, received with difficulty and qualification, even by those nations which acknowledge the Roman sovereignty: but the exceptions were not to the doctrine conciliarly defined, or as presumed to be the doctrine of the Roman, then called the catholic, church, on distinct and anterior authority. The doctrine, therefore, newly established at Trent, was the doctrine of the whole church continuing in communion with the Roman. No consistent member of that church

could refuse to bow with supreme reverence to a congregation of the rulers of his church, regularly assembled from all parts of the Roman world, with the chief ruler at its head, presiding by his authorised proxies, cardinal legates, claiming the miraculous guidance of the Holy Spirit, and in the plenitude of that authority, publishing its canons and decrees to the subjects of papal Rome.

The main compensating advantage to the friends of truth and religion from the Council of Trent is this. Had it not been for this authoritative and universally diffused announcement of the doctrine of the Roman church, it would have been a matter of some difficulty to discover, what the doctrine really was, by which either she would chuse, or might be compelled, to abide. For, amidst the chaos of varying, conflicting, and unsettled dogmas in Rome, up to the time of this her last general Council, while the circumstance afforded the advantage of optional selection, it enabled the defenders of the fortress to flee in succession from every post which they could not maintain, and betake themselves to some other, which would, at least, give employment to their assailant, until they were again in the same predicament. And it would be hard if the baffled assailant were not at last wearied out by such reception. But the canons and decrees of Trent, with the riveting creed and oath, which issued from the authority of the Council, and both expressed, and was sanctioned by its enactments, have at length fortunately bound the Proteus, and fixed him to a figure which he can no longer change. We cannot indeed altogether subscribe to the position, that the Council of Trent erected, what were formerly only questions of the schools, into dogmas of faith *. Rome had certainly

* Courayer, with whom probably this sentiment originated, speaks only of the *greater part* of these opinions. Pref. p. xxiv.

not a few dogmas of faith before, founded upon the highest and most binding authority, her preceding councils, not to add the constitutions of her chief pontiffs: and while a Nicene council established the worship of images; a Lateran one, transubstantiation, and auricular confession; a Florentine, purgatory and papal supremacy; while her liturgies and offices oblige the participants in them to offer prayers to saints; to implore their intercessions and the application of their merits before God; to deify the Virgin Mary by such appellations and addresses as belong exclusively to divinity; and to adore an equally deified vegetable substance under the manufactured form of the consecrated host,—it must be acknowledged, that matters of belief of no trifling number or ponderosity were hung about the necks of the papal population. Still there was a great deal remaining, which the Tridentine synod contrived to add to the burthen, both upon itself, and upon all who were to receive it.

The procedure was not altogether voluntary; indeed much the contrary. Protestantism was making its advances with a steady and irresistible step. Its success was in a great degree occasioned, or at least assisted, by the openness with which it declared its own nature and pretensions; by the authorised expositions of its doctrine; by its Confessions of Faith, large, precise, subscribed. And these, we beg to state simply at present, were in the main harmonious, the principal difference being furnished by the semi-heretical tenet of consubstantiation, which, however, escaped the idolatry of the papal doctrine on the subject. Such conduct could admit but of one interpretation. If, then, those who rose against what they esteemed the unjust and injurious dominion of the Italian church, dared thus publicly, thus unequivocally, to state

and proclaim the grounds of their separation, and the doctrine which they taught, and by which they would abide,—how was it that the church from which they seceded, which presumed to treat them as rebels and heretics, and, above all, which claimed to be herself exclusively the pure and inerrable depository of orthodox belief, the oracle of Christian doctrine, should not venture, were it but in common charity to the simple of her flock who might otherwise inadvertently wander into poisoned pastures, to lay before the world of her subjects a plain, full, explicit, and authentic declaration of her own creed; in order that, what the mother and mistress of all churches believed, taught, and enjoined, might be seen and read of all men? When the heretics could show, and were not ashamed or afraid to show, their faith, with minute precision, and in large detail, was it for the Catholic church (so calling herself) to leave it to be suspected, or not to put it in the power of her adherents to deny, that she either did not know her faith, or could not tell where to find it, or was unwilling to reveal it? These questions are so natural, and almost irrepressible, that it became necessary for Rome to endeavour, or seem, to meet them by some other answer than fire and sword, where fire and sword could not be applied. This was an argument of some cogency with Rome to make her more doctrinally communicative, and open the scrutoire of her own bosom more freely than had hitherto been thought prudent. And had not the terror of heresy, particularly the Lutheran, which it was then her real and avowed object to suppress, interfered, she would probably have made a nearer approach to Christian truth in the doctrine, which she established in this Council: for simple doctrine cost her nothing: it was reformation which she dreaded. But this approximation to truth, while it would render her cause more plausible and

satisfactory on one hand, would, on the other, bring her so much nearer to those whom it was her main interest and object to oppose and condemn, and, if possible, crush. And these causes produced the doctrine, which the fathers, or managers, of the Tridentine Council, finally agreed to send forth to the world, as the faith of the Universal church, meaning, by that term, their own particular one.

The following pages will, it is hoped, both throw some new light, and confirm what has already been shed, upon an important subject, and will furnish fresh cause of gratitude to heaven in every Christian and Protestant heart, that the great enemy of truth and godliness, arrogating to herself, with characteristic effrontery and falsehood, the exclusive possession of both, has, at length, and in these latter ages by her own act rendered herself visible, tangible and vulnerable; and now that the weapons of truth have a mark against which they can be effectually directed, the fate of the apostate is settled—*Roma fuit.*

In order to show the authority which the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent exercise over the Roman catholic conscience, we have used as our motto an article of the creed and oath of Pius, expressive of such self-imposed obligation. The whole of that creed is, indeed, *that* of the Council concentrated. Of this formulary, Dr. Milner, late Vicar apostolic of the midland district, writes in the xvith Letter of his End of Controversy, that, with other articles of Faith, it is 'every where recited and professed to the strict letter.' C. Butler, Esq., in his letter to C. Blundell, Esq., prefixed to his Vindication, &c., has repeated, that this creed 'has ever been considered in every part of the world as an explicit summary of the Roman catholic Faith.' In the examination of Dr. J. Doyle, before the Lords' Commissioners, on the state of Ireland,

March 21, 1825, page 394 of the Report, *that* Proteus declared on oath, 'The most approved and authentic summary of the creed of the Roman catholic church will be found in the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and in the Profession of Faith of Pope Pius IV, and in what we call the Roman Catechism, or Catechism of the Council of Trent.' *That* Catechism was provided for, and by anticipation sanctioned by the Council. Dr. D. Murray, usurping the archiepiscopal character, answered on the 22d of March 1825, p. 224, the question of the Commissioners of the Commons,—where the most authentic exposition of the faith of his church was to be found, thus: 'In that very creed that has been mentioned, the creed of Pius IV,' &c. Dr. Challoner, another Vicar apostolic, published a still popular tract on this creed, entitled 'Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine, &c.' The creed was promulgated by a bull, of the date of November 13, 1564, which imposes it upon all Doctors, Teachers, and Heads of Universities; and another bull of the same day extends the obligation to all heads of monastic institutions, and military orders. See Bullarium Magnum at the dates*.

It may be proper, before we conclude, just to advert to the promise made, in the first edition of the Canons and Decrees, of a speedy publication of the Acts of the Council —a promise, which, whether sincere or deceptive, *can hardly be supposed to have proceeded from the private authority of the editor Paulo Manutio.* His address to the Reader, which, additionally, on account of its disappearance from

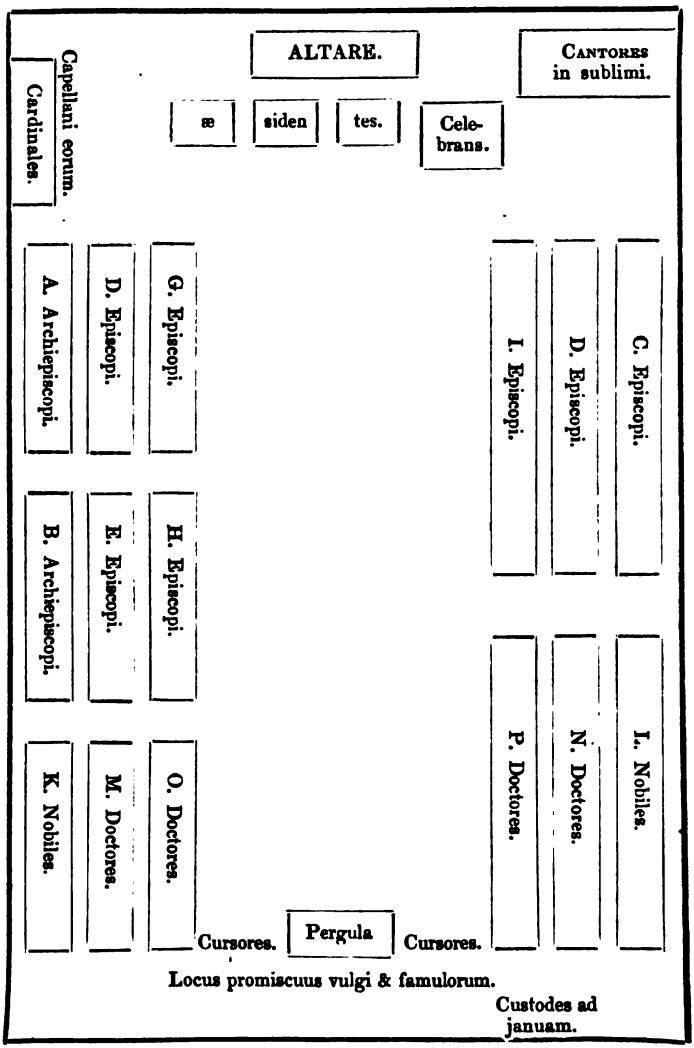
* See likewise a paper furnished by the writer, in the Protestant Journal for 1831, p. 70, and following. It is the first of a number, entitled Papal Bonds. It appears by the Declarationes MSS, tom. iii, at the end of the Second course of the Sessions, that Schoolmasters of Grammar and Science, even private ones, are included in the obligation of making the Profession.

future and modern editions, deserves to be made public, at least in the closing and more important part, presents *that* part in the following words—reliqua Concilii aeta, diligentissime per scribas publicos in ipso Concilio excepta, et litteris mandata, mox ita emittentur, ut, quæcunque res in controversiam venerit, quæcunque vel sententia dicta, vel oratio habita sit, omnia denique agitata, quæsita, deliberata, suo quidque loco, distincte, et abundanter exponantur. Interim accipe summam rei, lector optime, quæ ad salutem vehementer pertinet: universam vero Tridentini Concilii, trium Pontificum distinctam temporibus, historiam, eodem, cujus ad gloriam hæc omnia diriguntur, juvante Deo, propediem expecta. nullam enim tanti negotii partem ignorare, non modo jucundum est, verum ad multa etiam utile, et accommodatum: quod aliorum Conciliorum lectio declarat. Romæ, MDLXIV.

It requires no Œdipus to say *why* these Acts never issued, by the good will of the possessors, beyond the cases where they reposed, and still repose, in the Vatican.

Sutton Coldfield,
January 1, 1834.

FACIES CONCILII TEMPORE SESSIONIS.



Le Plat, Collect. Monum. vii, Par. alt. p. 45.

Ichnography was certainly no object of attention in this View.

CONTENTS.

		Page
	INTRODUCTION	1
Session		
I.	Opening of the Council under PAUL III.	34
II.	Mode of living, &c. in the Council	36
III.	Symbol of Faith	41
IV.	Canonical Scriptures	48
V.	*Doctrine:* Original Sin — *Reformation:* Lecturers, Preachers, and Quæstors	62
VI.	*Doctrine:* Justification — *Reformation:* Residence: Excesses of Clerics, Secular and Regular	79
VII.	*Doctrine:* Sacraments in General, Baptism and Confirmation—*Reformation:* Cathedrals, Benefices, &c. Bull for Translation	108
VIII.	Translation to Bologna	118
IX.	Prorogation of Session. Bologna I.	121
X.	Prorogation of Session. Bologna II.	125
XI.	Resumption of the Council under JULIUS III.	139
XII.	Prorogation of Session	141
XIII.	*Doctrine:* Eucharist — *Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations—Safe Conduct	143
XIV.	*Doctrine:* Penance and Extreme Unction—*Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations	152
XV.	Prorogation of Session—Safe Conduct	158
XVI.	Suspension of the Council—Subsequent Events	162
XVII.	Celebration of the Council under PIUS IV.	171
XVIII.	Index of books—Safe Conduct	179
XIX.	Prorogation of Session	194
XX.	Prorogation of Session	204
XXI.	*Doctrine:* Communion in both kinds: Infants, &c.—Bishops, Monasteries, Quæstors, &c.	210
XXII.	*Doctrine:* Sacrifice of the Mass—*Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations	224

Session Page
XXIII. *Doctrine:* Order—*Reformation:* Residence, Ecclesiastical Regulations 241
XXIV. *Doctrine:* Matrimony—*Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations 279
XXV. *Doctrine:* Purgatory: Indulgences, Invocation, Veneration and Relics of Saints, Sacred Images, &c.—Regulars and Nuns—*Reformation:* Cardinals, Excommunication, Episcopal Sees, &c., Duelling, &c. —Index of Books, Catechism, Revisal of Breviary and Missal committed to the Pope . . 305

APPENDIX.

Colloquy of Ratisbon in 1546 325
Reserved Cases 326
Auto de Fé at Valladolid in 1559 334
The Reformation in France 340
Bula Cruzada 344
Confirmation of the Council by the Pope . . . 359
Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI. . . . 359

PLATES.

The Council in Session . . . *To face the Title.*
Facsimiles of Autographs of eminent persons connected with the Council 323

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PLATE OF THE COUNCIL IN SESSION.

GRATITUDE and justice compel me to make public my obligation to the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, not only for the knowledge of the engraving itself here copied, and the book containing it, Trento con il Sacro Concilio, &c., by M. A. Mariani, a copy of which is among the treasures of the British Museum, but likewise for the facilities furnished by him of getting it copied in outline, as has been done, and in a style, if I mistake not, much to the credit of the artist. I am indeed indebted to the same source for all the information which I am able to give on the subject.

It would have been a considerable satisfaction if I could have obtained an explanation of the *numbers* affixed to several of the principal figures, as they are said to be portraits; but my friend, (upon whose information I am obliged to rely, not having had the opportunity, from continued residence in the country, of inspecting the book, or plate, myself,) informs me, that no explanations corresponding with the numbers are found in the work. The author merely writes, describing the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, that in it may be seen on the right hand of the High Altar a square picture by the hand, and from the design, of Helia Nauritio. The plate is then inserted, and this is followed by thirty-two pages of brief notices of the proceedings of each session, including the anathemas against all heretics at the close, with a list of prelates and others present. Mr. Horne supposes that some explanatory reference might have been intended, but was left unexecuted. The numbers, however, are retained, because they evidently point out the order of precedence, if that indeed were not the only intention. Possibly some other work may exist

which would throw some light upon the subject: at all events the numbers are a part of the plate. That plate was executed after the original painting in the above-mentioned church, in, or before, the year 1673,—more than a century and a half, therefore, from the present year: and it is a certain inference, that, at that time, the original must have been in a far more perfect state than it is at present, and as seen and described by M. Inglis. See note in page 17 of the present memoirs.

I should add, that the engraving accompanying this volume is of precisely the same dimensions as that which it represents, and is therefore, as far as an outline can be, a fac simile, preserving perhaps all the effect which is material of the original.

The variation which may be observed between this plate and the sketch which has been transferred from the pages of Le Plat, may be accounted for from the fact, that the latter is taken from the Acts of Massarelli, as first published by Martene, in his Collect. Vet. Monument., and by its position represents the arrangement of the session at the very *commencement* of the Council, while the former is as plainly a representation of the same at the *conclusion* of the Council. The reconciliation of the two, however, on any supposition, does not rest with the author. His work will pretty amply and satisfactorily explain most of the particulars in the engraving. The reader should be aware that the sessions were held, not in the church where the painting is, but in the cathedral.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 7, line 3 from bottom, *for* D'Espence *read* d'Espense.

24, l. 9, *for* in their favour *read* in favour of the heretics.

42, l. 2, *for* they *read* the fathers.

62, l. 10 from bottom, *for* lectures *read* lecturers.

65, l. 8, *for* they continue *read* the writer continues.

66, l. 8, *for* even *read* ever.

102, l. 11, *for* ourselves *read* themselves.

121, l. 12 from bottom, *for* legate *read* legates.

149, l. 2, *after* debated *add* one.

158, l. 17 from bottom, *for* this *read* their.

160, l. 6 from bottom, *for* (;) *put* (,).

161, l. 5 from bottom, *for* traditions *read* tradition.

175, l. 2, *after* to *add* make it.

186, l. 2 from bottom, *for* Glories *read* Glorier.

264, top of the page, respecting the calumny against Beza. Calumnies, or untruths uttered in vituperation of heretics, are not charged upon Romanists by Protestants alone. Hear how one of their own communion, and an honest one, speaks of them. 'All which being true'—the subject is the case of the most respectable deserter of the Roman communion, Dr. Andrew Sall,—'it were worth the while to consider, 'what it is hurries on our Catholic Writers generally to such exorbi-'tant Passions, and barbarous Language (besides many downright 'Lies and meer Calumnies often) against all those that leave our 'Church?' These are the words of PETER WALSH, of St. Francis's Order, Professor of Divinity, in the second of his *Four Letters*, &c. Printed 1686, page 69. Let the reader ponder the charge of DOWNRIGHT LIES, and MERE CALUMNIES, and GENERALLY thus brought against assumed Catholics by one far better than the greater part of them! Dr. O'CONOR would furnish matter not less disgraceful to the veracity of a portion, and a large one too, of his own church. See his *Historical Address* passim.

268, l. 3 from bottom, *for* Havera *read* Haveva.

273, to end of first Note *add*. At all events the number must be under 19.

280, l. 19, *for* Lara *read* Luna.

315, l. 9, *for* this *read* those of the present.

318, first paragraph of the Note in that page. The argument there represented is precisely the same as that which is adduced by Manuel Rodriguez in his Explicacion de la Bulla de la Cruzada, foll. 71, 72, to prove that the Pope has a right to grant Indulgences of a *Thousand years*, (de mil años.) Manuel is rigid in requiring due qualification

in the recipient of the Indulgence, and insists, notwithstanding the frequent wording of the instrument, that *pœna* only, and not *culpa*, are included in the remission. He adduces other testimonies in corroboration of his main argument.

318, l. 9, *after* is *add* from the legates.

334. The book, which, in referring to the review of it at the close of the article—*Reserved Cases*—I have designated too figuratively as an edition of the *Garden of the Soul*, is properly entitled *The Catholic's Prayer Book*, &c., by Rev. John Fletcher, and patronized in particular by that mollifier, and betrayer, of Roman Catholicity, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District.

In referring to Fra Paolo Sarpi's Letters in the Preface, the author was obliged at the time to depend upon the translation into English by the Rev. Edward Brown, who certainly wrote Latin better than English: but the extract given is sufficiently correct and intelligible.

It is remarkable, that among the Papal Medals there is not extant one struck with *decisive* reference to the Council of Trent. Those with the legend on the reverse, TU AUTEM IDEM IPSE ES, of the two pontiffs reigning at the commencement and close of the Council; and the TUI SECTATOR of the last, are perfectly doubtful.—See the works of Bonanni and Venuti.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COUNCIL OF TRENT.

INTRODUCTION.

Most of the historians of the Council of Trent take their commencement from the decisive and formidable resistance made by the Augustine monk, Martin Luther, to the authority and impositions of the Bishop of Rome. That resistance was, in the first instance, very respectful and measured. Nothing is more remarkable than, that in a letter to his own friends, two years after what may be called his passage of the Rubicon, his opposition to the abuse in the sale of indulgences, he makes the distinction, in favour of Rome, between its court and its church; the latter of which he characterizes 'as the purest marriage-bed of 'Christ, the mother of churches, the spiritual mistress of 'the world, the spouse of Christ, the daughter of God, 'the terror of hell, the victory over the flesh, in fine, whose 'are all things, and she Christ's.*' But this view could not be expected to last. The very principle of the original opposition possessed a character which, unless it produced repentance and reformation in the object reprobated, would

* Quare et ego horum Theologorum laicorum exemplo pulcherrimo, longissime, latissime, profundissime distinguo inter Romanam Ecclesiam et Romanam Curiam. Illam scio purissimum esse thalamum Christi, matrem Ecclesiarum, dominam mundi, sed spiritu, id est, vitiorum, non rerum mundi, sponsam Christi, filiam Dei, terrorem inferni, victoriam carnis; et quid dicam? cujus sunt omnia. Epistt. tom. i. fol. 136. ed. Berlin. 1579. This epistle, although without a date, is assigned to the year 1519. There are subsequent epistles which contain the same distinction, and use nearly the same language.

naturally and almost necessarily issue in a general opposition to the whole system, the spirit as well as body, of the papacy; and *that* would assume, as it proceeded, an attitude and strength which it would be in vain to attempt to put down by force. An irresistible providence urged on its own purposes independently of the consciousness or unconsciousness of its agents; and the very uncertainty in the power resisted, whether the nascent rebellion might not be smothered by expedients short of extreme ones, produced a hesitation and inaction which favoured the progress of the movement to such a degree as to render all future measures to resist its impetuosity hopeless. The progressive triumph of what we call the Reformation was now secure. The seminal cause therefore of the Council of Trent is justly considered to be, the public remonstrance of Luther against the venal indulgences issued by the pontiff Leo X, in the year 1517. The Venetian historian accordingly, and of course the Roman one, his pursuer, start from the same point. In this they did but follow, we may presume, the example of preceding manuscript histories, as well as the general opinion.

But of this insurrection against the corruption and tyranny of Rome there were still earlier and urgent causes. The latter part of the fourteenth century witnessed a schism in the papacy, which brought upon it much disgrace even in its own world. The eyes of even the most devoted subjects of the Roman see were opened by the scandalous spectacle of the opposition and warfare of the heads of their religion—rival chief pastors of the church, successors of the apostles, vicars of Jesus Christ on earth, hurling their anathemas at each other like children of the Evil one. And it is well if each party had not cause to be believed. But the effect, and a natural one, was, that a reformation in the church, a reformation both in the head and the members, was loudly called for by even the papal world. In answer to this call was assembled the first general council of Pisa, in 1409, which assuming to decide on the subject of faith as well as of schism, in its sixteenth session deposed

the two concurrent and hostile popes of the time, not only as schismatics, but as heretics—the heads of the infallible church heretics, and condemned as such by a council!—and in their place substituted another. This did but aggravate the evil and scandal; for the sentence being despised by the deposed pontiffs, the church had then three heads instead of two, and they mutually hostile. To abolish, not the triple crown, but the three heads who contended to wear it, and to expel from the throne of the universal church the spiritual Cerberus which had usurped authority over it, a general council was convened at Constance, which assuming sovereign authority, and expressly the right of effecting a reformation * of the church, as that of Pisa had done before, both in the head and the members, deposed the whole apostolic triumvirate, and gave the spiritual monarchy of Rome to a man of their own choice and creation, Martin V, who with all his successors in a line, whether broken or unbroken, to the present time, derive their sole title to the rank and office of vicars of Christ upon earth to a council, which at the same time decreed itself, and in act assumed to be, superior to the pope; or they have no title at all. The newly elected pope took care to perform little or none of his engagements to reformation. Another council was convoked, as had been provided for, after the time stipulated for enforcing the neglected reformation had elapsed, at Basil, in 1423. Its express and professed objects were two: the union of the Greek and Latin churches, and the reformation of the church in its head and members. Its history has been recorded by a member with so much fidelity, that when, as afterwards, he mounted the apostolic chair, he felt himself reduced to the humiliation of publicly retracting and condemning what he had written; and the work stands in

* Sess. iv. and v. The two are put together; for the reader must know, that some shuffling was resorted to by the pontifical agents to smother, if not prevent, the clause concerning reformation of the head and members. See Lenfant's History of the Council.

the black list of books prohibited by the Roman see, and as a monument of papal attachment to truth. The wily and indignant pontiff, however, then reigning, who had no disposition to reform or be reformed, assembled an opponent council which finally removed to Florence, in 1439, whence he levelled the thunder of his excommunications against the fathers of Basil. That council, however, deposed Eugenius and elected in his room Felix V; and the schism was at length healed by the death of the former about the middle of the fifteenth century. The affairs of the Italian church enjoyed comparative repose from that time to the time of the Reformation; although the apostolic chair was disgraced by the individual vices of its occupants.

It is at the era of the Reformation, as has been observed, that our first historians commence. Luther and his cause were making so rapid and determined a progress, that Leo X, the reigning pontiff, was at length roused, and attempted to stem the torrent by a violent and puerile bull in 1520. Some foreign universities lent their best aid, but in vain. They condemned and burned the books of the reformer: but his doctrine was making its triumphant way; and Leo did not gain much by exasperating a superior foe. At the close of his luxurious and ungodly life, he was succeeded by an individual, who, for his circumstances, was not without comparative merit, Adrian VI. The austerity of his life and manners formed a contrast with the licentiousness of his predecessor much to his advantage. He began his pontificate with some attempt to reform his court. His design, however, was opposed by one of the cardinals, who observed, that to reform would be to canonize the cause of Luther, which he should unite with the princes, in endeavouring to extirpate*. He accordingly sent his legate to the diet of Nuremberg, then sitting, 1522, who endeavoured to compromise matters by making the sup-

* Il cardinal Soderini combattè il Papa à non far riforma, che sarebbe un canonizzare la causa di Martino, mà collegarsi con le Prencipi, et estirparlo; onde il Papa, &c. Diario del Conc. T. lib. i.

pression of Lutheranism the condition of the reformation of the papal court. This proposal produced the list of grievances presented in the name of the assembled princes, known by the title of *Centum Gravamina.*

This is a document of great importance, and deserves to be more extensively known than it is, particularly in this country. Various editions of it are extant. The better known of them are—1, that contained in the Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum ac Fugiendarum of Orthuinus Gratius, Cologne, 1535, (the more unexceptionable as proceeding from an editor of the Roman communion, and a good anti-Lutheran,) and of course in Brown's reprint; 2, in Wolfius's Lectiones Memorabiles; 3, in Le Plat's Collectio Monumentorum, &c.,—not to mention a great variety of other editions, chiefly, as might be expected, German. But by far the most valuable and interesting edition is the first; and it is very rare. It is in 4to., and printed at Nuremberg, in 1523, by Fred. Peypus. I have the book, bound up with other similar tracts, but it is described in the proper place in Panzer. The title is a long and a strange one: In hoc libello Pontificii oratoris continetur legatio, in conventu Norembergensi, Anno M.D.xxii. inchoato, sequenti vero finito, exposita, una cum instructione ab eodem legato consignata: necnon responsione Cæsareæ Majestatis, ac reliquorum Principum & Procerum nomine reddita. Insunt & gravamina Germanicæ nationis iniquissima centum, ac nullo pacto ulterius a Romano Pontifice et spiritualibus (ut vocant) toleranda, a laicis Principibus, & Imperii primatibus literis mandata, ac summo Pontifici transmissa—with about as much more, describing the papal extortions in ecclesiastic property, of which an alphabetic list is inserted at the end. An Italian translation, in my possession likewise, of this rare tract was published apparently in the same year, but with no mark of any kind. The title commences—Quivi e descripto, quello ha exequire lo Oratore, and so on.

About ten years before, a similar list, containing ten griev-

ances, had been published in the same way. They now amounted to ten times the number; and that number might easily have been enlarged.

Adrian, although chiefly intent upon crushing Luther and his doctrine, was, for the attainment of that object, willing to make great sacrifices, and, in order to them, very humble confessions. In one of his instructions to his legate, he commissions him to say:—'We acknowledge that, in this holy 'see, there have for some years been many abominations, 'abuses in spirituals, excesses in mandates,—all things, in 'fine, perverted. Nor is it to be wondered, if the sickness of 'the head should descend to the members, that of the chief 'pontiffs to the other inferior prelates. We have all (prelates 'and ecclesiastics) declined to our own ways; and it has been 'long that there was none who did good, no not one. Where-'fore,' &c.* Such language was little likely to please any Roman sycophant; and Pallavicino could not well do otherwise than applaud the simplicity of the pontiff at the expense of his prudence.

The Italian Diarist has noticed and described the contents of the Centum Gravamina in fair proportion. He has specified the various extortions, expensive dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, pecuniary penances, and so forth. But the document is too important to be dismissed in a summary way. Let the reader take any edition of the book into his hand, and peruse only a few of the century of charges which the lay and principal members of a great legislative assembly of the German empire felt themselves impelled to bring against an authority, which they still acknowledged as supreme in spirituals. Let him begin with the third article, on the burthen of papal indulgences, by which money was drawn in profusion from the simple, brought like any other commodity for sale into public market, and in pro-

* Scimus in hac sancta sede, aliquot jam annis, multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, & omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum, si egritudo a capite in membra, a summis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descenderit. Omnes nos, &c.

portion to the price paid conferring what the purchaser could not understand otherwise than as a licence to sin; whence all kinds of specified iniquity. Let him read in article vii what is affirmed of the authorized questors, the stationary preachers of indulgences—their impostures, their extortions. Not to detain himself with the minor, although scandalous impositions respecting ecclesiastic benefices, the Annates, Reservations, Expectative graces, and various assumptions of temporal jurisdiction, let him proceed at once to the lxviith article, where the ecclesiastic judges and officials are charged with aggravating the spiritual penance to such a degree, that laics are induced to purchase immunity with money, which goes no farther than the private pocket of the ecclesiastics. Let him, in article lxxiv, read how double fees are imposed upon some for the same offence; and in the two following, the charge of unchastity and profligacy in the lives of the clergy. Article xc is to much the same purpose; and the next, openly, in the face of the world, and in the ears of his holiness at Rome, like all the rest, declares, that while concubines were allowed to priests on the payment of a certain tax, the same tax was levied upon those who lived continently, because the bishop was in want, and they were at liberty to do otherwise at their option*. The xciiid article asserts and exposes the pertinacity with which the vagabond Terminaries and Stationaries, monks and priests, infested sick beds, and the artifices which they used to obtain legacies†. The whole, however, of this portentous docu-

* Item in locis plerisque Episcopi & eorum officiales non solum sacerdotum tolerant concubinatum, dummodo certa persolvatur pecunia, sed & sacerdotes continentes, & qui absque concubinis degunt, concubinatûs censum persolvere cogunt, asserentes, Episcopum pecuniæ indigum esse, qua soluta, licere sacerdotibus, ut vel cœlibes permaneant, vel concubinas alant. Quàm res hæc sit nefanda, nemo non intelligit.

† This document confirms all the villany of the Taxæ Pœnitentiariæ as stigmatized still later by the indignant and honest Claude D'Espence, who saw a little more than '*Fees of Office*' in them. See Taxatio Papalis, and Life and Pontificate of St. Pius V, pp. 266—280.

ment ought to be read to convey an adequate view of the superlative iniquity of the church, as well as court, of Rome, at the time. 'The whole head was sick, and the 'whole heart faint: from the sole of the foot even unto the 'head, there was no soundness in it; but wounds and 'bruises, and putrifying sores*.' So the prophet denounced the church and court of Jerusalem; and Rome was not more pure.

It might have been expected, that a roll of such grievous charges against the dominant church would not be left in quiet and natural enjoyment of its authority by the regular retainers of that church; and by some of that number it has been stigmatized as a Lutheran production. Precisely because it has exposed ulcers in the church of Rome, which many of her most attached friends had almost as freely and severely done before, therefore this church, as sore under censure as deserving of it, is to be exculpated by a gratuitous insinuation against her accusers! This objection is encountered by an editor of the Gravamina, at Francfort, 1778, in a preface, where he proves, with satisfactory force, that there is no *internal* evidence whatever—the only kind of evidence adduced—that the instrument in question was not the production of good, orthodox Catholics, as they were then denominated; and that, in the cases in which the doctrine and practice of the papal church may appear to be impugned, the object of censure is, not the doctrine or practice, but the *abuse*. Besides that the authors of the remonstrance uniformly express themselves towards the Roman see in that *filial* form, which is quite repugnant to the usage of the Lutherans, or reputed heretics. If, moreover, this were a Lutheran work, how happens it that cotemporaries should be so ignorant of the fact, that the earliest reimpressions of it should issue from papal presses? Should this argument, however, be deemed insufficient, the question may be set at rest, in all fair estimate, by the testimony of Zuingle, who,

* Is. i. 5, 6.

in the second part of his De Seditionum Authoribus*, expressly ascribes the work to existing and genuine subjects of the pope. In fact, none but those who are upon the watch for a sophistic evasion, and can condescend to use one when within their reach, can, with the slightest show of real reason, support a remaining doubt upon the subject. The reader, it is trusted, will be satisfied that the importance and nature of the subject justify the length to which our observations upon it have extended.

The friends of real Christianity, which, under present circumstances, necessarily implied substantial and considerable reformation, had little to expect from the ascetic and superstitious virtues of Adrian; and his early removal, whether natural or not, put a termination to all hopes or fears respecting his personal performances in the purification of his church.

In the mean time, the Reformation, headed and led by Luther and his friends, lost no ground. It is not our purpose, in this preliminary sketch, to dwell at length upon events generally known; it is, therefore, sufficient to observe, that the Confession of Faith, exhibited at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, made the union of the Protestant band firmer, and served to distinguish their real friends from their real foes. The publication of the work, already referred to, of Orthuinus Gratius, being a collection of highly reputable pieces, detailing and inveighing against the existing and palpable corruptions of the Roman church, made it evident that the aspirations for a reformation were the voice, not of visionary or interested heretics, but of those likewise who would have taken great offence at the slightest imputation upon the purity of their Roman catholicism. This publication appeared in the year 1535.

The importunate demands for a reformation of some kind and degree, from all quarters, obliged the new pope, Paul III., to improve previous negotiation and amusement on the subject of a council into the actual indiction of one, which

* Huld. Zuinglii Opp. Par. ii. fol. 140. Tig. 1581.

was appointed to meet at Mantua, by a bull dated June 4, 1536, and the king of England was cited to it. Henry had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but he had just been excommunicated, and for other reasons he was indisposed to obey the present citation. Availing himself of a convocation then sitting, he obtained its judgement on the authority of general councils *; upon the strength of which he made and published a protestation against the council then convoked †.

The demand for reformation produced another, and rather singular proposal of the pontiff, by which, if successful, he might hope to parry the worst part of the evils naturally to be anticipated from a council. In the year 1537, he deputed four cardinals and five eminent prelates to examine into the

* See Herbert's History of Henry VIII, under the year 1536. He is the first authority. The *Judgement*, however, must have been published near the time, and by itself, as it is included in the Prohibitory Index of Paul IV, under R—Regis, & Senatus Anglici, &c. The date of the indiction of the council is worth noticing, since, in an inscription of one of the pictures in the Vatican Library, representing the Council of Trent, the council is said to have begun *twenty-six* years before the date of its termination. Pansa, della Lib. Vat. 1590, p. 208.

† See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Strype's Memorials, and others, under 1536. In all the important transactions of the reign of Henry VIII, and in this in particular, Archbishop Cranmer had a principal concern. For the more distinct statement of this fact, I am indebted to a work, the most valuable, as an historical one, which the Oxford press has for a long time produced. The *Remains* of that admirable prelate reflect great credit upon the editor, the Rev. Henry Jenkyns, Fellow of Oriel College, who, by his laborious and successful research, and the unsophisticated integrity of his logic, has done an essential service to Protestantism, at a time when it suffers, not more from professed foes, than from ambiguous or incompetent friends. i, ix—xiii. At page cx is an important note, which, by the aid of MS. authority, demonstrates, with what levity and calumny the present papal historian of England, and, from him, the present master of Rugby school, have imputed to the Reformatio Legum, and thence to the church of England, an express sanction of the principle of *punishing heretics with death*. If the charge were as just as it is gratuitous, the whole credit would be due to Rome, whence the principle was inherited. It may be difficult and even invidious to determine, whether this and other misrepresentations be partially excusable by ignorance, or fixed in their native guilt by knowledge; but doubtless, either a retractation of the past, or a delicate forbearance for the future, would be rather a fulfilment, than a violation, of *Christian Duty*.

abuses of his own court, and propose such a reformation as was needful or practicable. There can be no doubt that it was more desirable for his holiness to do this himself than to be compelled to do it by others. The fact is admitted on all hands. The Diary mentions it, and enters into some detail; Pallavicino into much greater, as behoved an apologist. The cardinals named in this deputation were Contarino, Sadoleto, Carafa, (afterwards pontiff, under the name of Paul IV, which is to be remembered,) and our own countryman, Polo, better recognized in this country by the English form, Pole.

The advice which this small but select body felt themselves authorized and called upon to present to his holiness, was printed in the ensuing year in Rome, by the pontifical printer, in 4to, under the title—Consilium Delectorum Cardinalium & aliorum Prælatorum, de emendanda Ecclesia, S. D. N. D. Paulo Tertio ipso jubente conscriptum, & exhibitum Anno M.D.xxxviii. There is no dispute respecting such an edition, although I have not the edition or precise title before me. This, however, is the title of another edition, in a small form, printed at Antwerp in the same year by John Steelsius, in my possession, with the exception of the mistake of concilium for consilium. I have likewise, which are not in many hands, the edition in the same year by John Sturmius, with a subjoined Epistle, and *that* by Pet. P. Vergerio, with his pungent Introduction, printed at Strasburg in 1555, both in 4to. The reprints are about as multiplied as those of the congenial German Grievances, and found in the same volumes.

This curious and important document commences with a compliment to his holiness, and an eulogy on truth, which, on account of the flatterers besetting the courts of princes, did not gain so much attention from his predecessors. It professes to concern itself only with the ecclesiastical portion of his jurisdiction; and would banish from *that* every influence of a pecuniary description. It enumerates a variety of abuses respecting church preferment,—the granting it to foreigners

to the nation where it is situated; deceptive resignations; unions; pluralities; and, particularly, (which was highly disinterested,) the accumulation of benefices upon cardinals, who, by local attendance upon the Roman court, could not discharge personally the duties of their proper cures. Hence the neglect of pastoral duties, with all its baneful consequences. The inmates of monasteries, likewise, afforded very disgraceful examples. Confessors, too, were not without their faults. The nunneries were a scene of notorious licentiousness; so that it was expedient to withdraw them from the superintendence of the monks. Questions, even in churches, were allowed of a dangerous latitude; and it was advisable that so mischievous a book as Erasmus's Colloquies should be prohibited. The religious, who traverse the country with the relics of St. Anthony and other saints, and who thereby encourage the vulgar in infinite superstitions, ought to be put down. The clergy, it is added, are frequently allowed to marry; a dispensation which ought never to be given unless for the preservation of some people or nation, where there should exist the gravest possible cause; especially now, when the Lutherans urge this point with extreme pertinacity *. Simony is then chastised: the clergy ought not to be allowed to alienate church property except on great occasions, nor should licence to perform divine service in private, and to choose a priest, be granted without equally strong reason. Indulgences ought not to be too frequently repeated,—indeed, but once a year, and in principal cities †. This little council is much scandalized at the sordid attire in which the officiating ministers celebrate mass even in St. Peter's cathedral; and, proceeding with more formidable censure, it declares, in this very city strumpets walk about it like honest matrons, or ride on mules accom-

* Hæc dispensatio non esset ulli danda, nisi pro conservatione populi cujuspiam vel gentis, ubi esset publica causa gravissima; præsertim his temporibus, &c.

† Nec Indulgentiæ item dandæ essent nisi semel in anno, in unaquaque insignium civitatum. The censors are careful not to err by excessive and imprudent severity.

panied in mid-day by nobles, friends of cardinals, and by clerics. In no city, say they, have we witnessed such corruption but in this, the exemplar of all: they even dwell in sumptuous houses—a vile abuse which ought to be corrected *.

These charges, however softened, are not light; but they were far from reaching the extent of the existing corruptions. Pallavicino, who is obliged to admit their justice, yet consoles himself and his readers with the attempt to prove that many reforms were subsequently put in execution: he is but feebly, however, borne out by the fact.

Although no dispute has ever been raised respecting this penitential and self-condemnatory document, there is one remarkable circumstance relative to it, which has afforded matter for spirited controversy. It will be recollected that one of the cardinal-deputies was Carafa. He afterwards became Paul IV. In 1559 he published an Index of prohibited books. In it appears, under the letter L, the article, *Lib. inscrip. Consilium de emendanda Ecclesia*—the very work, which *he* was principally concerned in drawing up and presenting to the pontiff at the time. All this is perfectly natural, although not very honourable, either to the Roman see, to the pontiff, or to himself. A modern and very ingenuous cardinal, therefore, Cardinal Quirini, felt himself called upon to nullify or dilute the disgraceful fact. This he attempted by labouring to prove, that the book intended was, not the genuine one, edited by a papal press at Rome or elsewhere, but some one of the heretical editions; an evasion, from which he was most triumphantly driven by the laborious and acute Schelhorn, in a particular and extended work on the subject, embracing a quantity of other interesting matter, published at Zurich in 1748. It is impossible, ac-

* In hac etiam Urbe meretrices ut matronæ incedunt per Urbem, seu mula vehuntur, quas assectantur de media die Nobiles familiares Cardinalium, Clericique. Nulla in urbe videmus hanc corruptionem, præterquam in hac omnium exemplari. Habitant etiam insignes sedes; corrigendus etiam hic turpis abusus. Pius V set himself vigorously to correct it—for it was not then corrected—but was obliged to compromise.

cording to any rational anticipation, that the same defence can ever again be put up; and we must in charity believe, that the celebrated Le Plat was unacquainted with the work, or he could never, in the year 1781, have pretended to acquiesce in the conclusion of Quirini. The repentance of Carafa and his associates, whether feigned or real, was, when the same Carafa became pope, not only repented of, but condemned—condemned by himself—condemned publicly and formally in the very instrument which expressed it. This indeed was but following the notorious example of one of his predecessors; but it is an additional proof that, when times change, even popes change with them. Paul III, however, the pontiff reigning at the time with which we are now concerned, took the substance of the counsel into consideration, and, consulting his cardinals, was told by his eminence of Capua, that it was not a time to attempt reform, when mankind was so headstrong that, if restrained in one direction, it would satisfy its inclination in a worse; besides that the act would give occasion to the Lutherans to triumph and insult. But the cardinal of Chieti, declaring that reform was necessary, it was determined to put off the affair to another time*.

After two prorogations, the pontiff published a bull to assemble the council at Vicenza, in the Venetian territory, on the 1st of May, 1537; and even sent three legates to open it in the following year. Against this new announcement and location of a council, the king of England published a fresh protestation, dated April 8, 1538 †. The pope suspended the meeting on the 10th of June, 1539 ‡.

In the mean time, imperial diets were being held; which produced great terror in Rome, lest the temporal sovereigns should take the matter of reformation into their own hands, and assume to themselves the office, which the bishop of Rome regarded as exclusively his own, of interfering with, and regulating, affairs of religion. Between this terror and

* Diario, lib. i.

† See Foxe and Strype under the year in their respective works.

‡ All these documents are to be found in Le Plat.

the antagonist one of being necessitated to call a council, which, if it effected any true and adequate reformation in doctrine or discipline, would bring certain destruction to the whole system of the papacy, the mind of its sovereign was distracted; and the dilemma produced all those vacillating, but almost uniformly corrupt, measures, by which, throughout, the Synod of Trent was characterized.

At the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1541, the papal legate had instructions that, if anything were proposed derogatory to the authority of the Roman see, the colloquy should be interrupted, and a general council brought forward as the only sufficient remedy for the existing evils. The consequences of this diet were important, as it determined the pontiff, not only to assent to, but to urge, the celebration of a council. His holiness wished it to be held at Vicenza, as had before been agreed on, but the republic of Venice objected. In 1542 the pope sent Cardinal Morone to a diet convened at Spires, to propose for the intended synod three Italian cities, which are named; but, if none of these were acceptable, he would consent to the choice of Trent, on the confines of Germany, and sufficiently near and convenient to the other powers concerned. The Protestants, however, were content neither with the place, nor with the assumption of the Roman pontiff, their worst and declared enemy, to convoke the assembly by his own authority.

The pope, who was full of policies which were necessary to him, made no delay, but immediately published a bull of indiction for the meeting of the council at Trent on the 1st of November of the present year, 1542. The bull, which is prefixed to every edition of the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, is dated May 22, and was forwarded to the Christian sovereigns; and although war had recommenced between the two principal, his holiness sent three cardinal legates to Trent on the 26th of August. The emperor, not to be out-done in apparent desire of the council, sent his ambassadors there likewise. But in seven short months the pontiff recalled his legates, and terminated the

abortive assembly. The Bull of Suspension is dated July 6, 1543 *. The subject was resumed, in the next year, in the Diet of Spires.

Peace being restored between the emperor of Germany and the king of France, Charles and Francis, in 1544, the pontiff, without waiting to be solicited, and without leaving to either of the rival sovereigns the opportunity and honour of originating afresh a measure so magnificent and full of so much anticipated benefit to Christian Europe, immediately issued a new bull, summoning the meeting of the council at Trent on the 15th of March, 1544. He had no objection to begin, as other councils had done, with a few, especially as being Italians, and as then having it in their power to settle the form of future proceedings in the way which would please him; and those who followed and joined them would feel themselves involuntarily or insensibly obliged to assent to regulations which they found already established. The emperor, who was playing the same game as the pontiff, and understood his opponent's tactics, immediately sent notice himself to the different princes, and gave orders to the prelates of Spain and the Netherlands, as likewise the theologians of Louvain, to attend; with the effect, if not the intention, of appearing as real and principal promoter of the council†.

At the period at which we are now arrived in the present Memoirs, we begin to enjoy the assistance of the more valuable and detailed portions of our proper authorities, in the Summarium of Massarelli and the Letters of the legates. We may, however, avail ourselves of the observations, with which the Venetian secretary ‡ introduces this portion of the history of the council, at the beginning of his second book, where he professedly enters upon the subject. 'The sect of Luther,' he writes, 'increasing in every direction, and a great part of

* It may be seen in Le Plat's Coll. Monument. Tom. iii.

† For the preceding hasty outline my main authority is Fra Paolo, end of the first and beginning of the second book.

‡ Milledoni.

'Germany and the neighbouring country, and more especially 'England, being infected with this heresy, which bade fair 'to prevail over the whole world, every state, province, and 'city was desirous of a General Council, in order to put a stop 'to such divisions in Christendom and avert the calamities 'which they threatened.' Therefore Paul III took the course which history records, and fixed upon Trent as the locality of the great healing measure. The historian then gives a rather extensive account of the city, its fine churches, and its splendid cathedral dedicated to S. Vigilio, formerly bishop of that city, and martyred by the neighbouring inhabitants; *that* likewise of St. Peter, where is deposited the body of the blessed child Simonetto, who was tormented to death by the Jews*. These observations may at the same time serve to show, that whatever just repugnance the Venetians might feel to the encroachment of papal tyranny, they yet hated reputed heresy, or Protestantism, with cordial abhorrence. This remark applies to the Diarist likewise. These are therefore witnesses not favourable to the cause of reformed Christianity. Massarelli begins his summary by recording the bull issued by Paul III, revoking the suspension of the council, dated the 19th of November, and published the last day of that month, appointing the meeting of the council for the fourth Sunday in Lent, or 15th March, 1545†. The historian proceeds to remark, that as his holiness, from the increasing infirmities of age, could not gratify his desire of being personally present at the council, he had appointed three legates to supply his place. Those legates

* The church of S. Maria Maggiore is remarkable, in connexion with the subject of this work, as having a picture of the Council of Trent when sitting. See a work by Mariani, entitled, Trento con il Sacro Concilio et altri notabili, 4to., 1673. There is an engraving of the picture between pages 94 and 95, of which an outline copy accompanies the present volume. Mr. Inglis, in the second volume of his Travels in the Tyrol, pp. 120-122, mentions the original, as in a faded state, but still sufficiently distinct to exhibit the different costumes. It is said to contain portraits of the principal persons who distinguished themselves at the council.

† This bull is not in the Bullarium, but appears in its place in the iiid vol of Le Plat's Collect. Monument.

were cardinals of the three orders—Giammaria del Monte, Bishop of Palestrina; Marcello Cervini, Presbyter di Santa Croce; Rinaldo Polo, or Reginald Pole, Deacon di S. Maria in Cosmedin.

These legates, observes the Diarist, in rather warm language, were sent as angels of peace, with powers sufficiently ample in themselves, but omnipotent with the concurrence of the council.

The legates having received the cross from his holiness on the 22d of February, the Cardinal di Santa Croce left the city on the 23d, the Cardinal del Monte on the 24th. Our countryman remained longer at Rome for good reasons. They made their formal entrance into Trent on the 13th of March, 1545, and were received with the highest honour and reverence by the cardinal bishop of the place. And this day furnishes the first date of the letters of these distinguished individuals.

These letters are perhaps more original, and certainly more interesting authority, than the formal history of the secretary, although he enjoyed every personal advantage for the accuracy of his relation. The individual to whom they were addressed was the grandson of the pontiff, created by him cardinal deacon in the first year of his pontificate, and the first in the list of the first creation. Alessandro Farnese was then not more than fifteen years of age; at the present time therefore not more than twenty-six. He was, however, a young man of ability and activity, and well fitted for the confidential station which he occupied. He was made vice-chancellor in 1582*.

The first letter of the legates to the youthful cardinal, of the 13th of March, 1545, as just stated, begins with a devout acknowledgment of their arrival and public entry into Trent, as well as the cordial and affectionate reception which they met with from the cardinal bishop and lord of the place, Cristoforo Madruccio. They proceed to say, that as

* See Vitæ et Res Gestæ Pontt. Rom. et Cardd. Ciaconii, &c., tom. iii., coll. 558, et seqq. Romæ, 1677.

it might be considered an omission, if, after the benediction in the church, some indulgence, according to custom, were not pronounced, they had given one of seven years and as many quarantenes, with the hope that his holiness would accept and approve the act, as they humbly intreated him to do, for the discharge of *their* conscience and that of the people. They write thus because they were ignorant what faculty it would please his holiness to concede *. This rather curious case will recur and be noticed. The remainder of the letter is not eminently important. The writers express themselves anxious for instructions how to proceed in opening the council, particularly if the diet (at Worms, then just about to assemble) should, against all laws human and divine, and the hitherto constant usage of the church, determine to treat upon religion, which would effectually nullify the authority of the council †. In the close of the letter they desire a secretary with a cipher, as contained in a memorial referred to ‡.

A letter of the 16th, recognized together with the first in that of the 18th, does not appear in either of the duplicates. In the present the legates mention the mission of Mignanello as nuncio to the king of the Romans, and their public visit, in company with the cardinal of Trent, to the cathedral, for the purpose of arranging places for the sessions, and they suppose it capable of accommodating four hundred persons or more. They add, that at the present no bishops had arrived but those di Feltro and della Cava.

* —— et perche era giudicato male, se dopo la beneditione in chiesa non fusse stata pronunciata qualche Indulgenza secondo il solito, ne havemo, data sette anni et altretante quarantene sotto speranza che S. Sta. havra tutto per grato, et per ben fatto, come ne la supplichiamo humilmente per scarico delle consienze nostre et di questo popolo. Questo le diciamo perche non sappiamo la facolta che S. Sta. ci vorra concedere.

† —— venghi exautorizato.

‡ —— si mandi un segretario con la cifra come nel Memoriale, &c. An intentional and significant mark is placed after the word cifra, referring no doubt to some particular cipher agreed upon, which I should not have noticed but for its evident recurrence in the letter of the 23d of March.

Under the date of the 23d is noticed the arrival of Don Diego di Mendozza, the imperial ambassador, as in Massarelli, and within half an hour that of Mignanello. Another letter of the 26th mentions the arrival of the Bishop of Bitonto, who, with the two already noticed, makes the three, to whom a reference will be found in the next letter; where the legates write, that it might appear a dishonourable and inauspicious commencement to begin a work of so much moment as a general council with only three bishops. Another cause for present delay was, that the church was more fully occupied with services of the season (being Lent), although opportunity might yet be provided.

The letters which follow, as well as the preceding, contain particulars necessary to be attended to under the circumstances, but such as are obvious, and related in the regular and professed histories of the council, (a character to which the present work does not pretend,) and withal abundantly tiresome.

The letter of the 8th of April, among other things, contains four suggestions which it represents as worthy of some regard:—1. That the emperor attributes to himself all the glory of having induced his holiness to take off the suspension, and of soliciting him to celebrate the council, which, say the legates, we can testify not to be the fact; 2. That with equal inaccuracy he affirms that he had induced the king of France to assent to the council; 3. That the same emperor has published, that the pope will send a legate to the diet declaring what he will contribute against the Turk; 4. That his Cæsarean majesty wishes to have such command of the future diet, that if the council does not proceed, he may be able to terrify the legates with the apprehension that the affairs of religion will be discussed and settled in that secular assembly. The legates therefore advise his Sanctity to be even with the emperor, and get in readiness his bishops, theologians, and jurists, with other learned men. Carrying on the date of the letter to the 18th, they represent themselves much perplexed as to the time of opening the council, particularly with

reference to the approaching diet, in which the emperor threatened to transact religious affairs, and cast the whole blame upon them for delay after being warned. After much matter of an interesting character, their eminences declare it to be the conclusion at which they have arrived after long consideration and consultation, that it is expedient that a mass of the Holy Spirit should be sung before the diet commences, and that the first session of the council should be announced within a few days, in order to anticipate the recess. And then, whether the council proceeded, or was prorogued to a more favourable time, his holiness would be a gainer. This letter ends with a specimen of the coolness with which Rome transacts some of her most solemn impositions; and the subject is indulgences, to which it will be recollected we promised to recall the attention of the reader. 'In the celebra-'tion of a council,' say the writers, 'it is customary to impart 'a small indulgence, and we have no faculty so to do. If, 'however, his holiness should resolve to begin it, it would be 'well, that we should have a breve conveying this authority, 'and *dated on the day of our departure from Rome, in 'order that the indulgence which we gave* of seven years and 'as many quarantenes, at our entrance into this place, *might 'be made valid,* as we then requested, without having re-'ceived any answer*.'

The next letter of the same date, the latter I presume of the two, the 18th, to the pope, is curious, as illustrative of the insincerity of princes, or of the opinion which they mutually entertain of each other's sincerity; and if, in such cases, we infer that individuals impute from their own consciousness, we shall not perhaps widely err. It is an epistle to his holiness himself, and with good reason; for the writers begin by saying, that when they penned their former letter they supposed it possible that it might be inspected by others than

* —— et con la data del di della nostra partita di Roma, accioche l' Indulgenza quale demmo di sette anni et altretante quarantene nella entrata nostra venga ad esser data valida, come allhora da noi ne fu supplicata, et non havemo ancora hauta risposta.

his holiness; but in this strictly private communication they declare it as their conviction, founded upon good proof, that the emperor, whatever might be his pretences, had secretly no wish for the opening of the council; his only wish was to *appear* to wish it.

Another letter of the 20th of April to the pontiff raises again the spectre of the interference of the diet in the cause of religion.

In a letter to the Camerlengo, (for Farnese was at the diet of Worms with the emperor,) the legates write, that they had understood that, on the proposal of his majesty, the diet had concluded, that the affairs of religion should be remitted to the council. Being secure therefore from any risk, it appeared preferable not to add bitter to sweet by opening the council without the knowledge of his majesty; but as the day of commencing was referred to their pleasure, to fix upon as early a one as should be deemed expedient.

About this time, that is, the spring of 1545, Rome was attempting the suppression of heresy, or Lutheranism, in the method which she would always use, if able, that of force, in the south of France. Merindol and Cabrieres were infected places, and were denounced as such; in consequence of which an arret was issued against them in the parliament of Aix, at the instigation in particular of the bishop of that place and the archbishop of Arles. This happened in 1540; but the main effort of persecution was reserved for the year 1545, when a brutal lord, Menier, led the troops of his abused sovereign against a harmless and religious community, and perpetrated the barbarities of violence of every atrocity, burning, slaughter, and desolation, for which public justice and shame called him to account. It was not for civil offences, not for religion mixed with others, not for religion chiefly, but for religion singly and solely, that these real innocents were thus sacrificed by the church and principles of Roman Catholicism*.

* Histoire Memorable de la Persecution & Saccagement du peuple de Merindol & Cabrieres, & autres circonvoisons, appelez Vaudois. L'an 1556,

Our proposed limits and the relative importance of the matter oblige us to pass over a number of the letters in the collection before us; and we merely stop at the conclusion of the letter, dated May 16th, to notice the recognition by the legates of letters, which they had received from Mignanello, who was at Worms, in cipher, which, with the key and a summary of a certain answer of the Lutherans, they send to the Camerlengo, retaining a copy of it themselves. These provisions of secresy do not tell well for the integrity of the actors. One is involuntarily and almost irresistibly led to inquire, can such arts be necessary in the preparations for assembling a Christian council to heal the real wounds of Christendom, and assert the purity of Christian doctrine? Was it against such objects as these that the calumniated and already condemned disciples of Luther and the reformation either felt repugnance or maintained opposition?

It should not be forgotten, of which our letters in detached portions remind us, and which regular histories relate, that a considerable number of the dignified and literate clergy and others were arriving at Trent, and preparing to take their place in the future assembly. Claims of precedence were likewise preferred, particularly by the imperial ambassador, and it was urged that bishops who were likewise princes, should take place before other bishops. We shall see in the sequel what contentions and ingenuity in evading or settling them were occasioned by this point of honour.

A letter, with the date May 29, (which from its station is in all probability a mistake for 19, although it is the same in the duplicate,) to the Camerlengo, states, that certain proxies appeared before the legates, begging to represent their principal, the archbishop of Mentz, who was commended for his devotion to the apostolic see. They were graciously answered, that it was a case of difficulty, as his holiness had determined that no one should give his vote by proxy; but

8vo. Foxe has translated and adopted almost the whole. It is for substance confirmed by public letters of Henry II, which are subjoined, and is to be found in all the histories of the time.

that the matter should be considered. This application put the legates in a dilemma, which they thus express in the next letter to the same person. Through him they earnestly supplicate the determination of his holiness, whether the application should be admitted, since it appeared to them that great respect was due to his lordship, but more particularly on account of his being surrounded by Lutherans, who, besides their other perversities, opposed the council in every way; and it would operate greatly in their favour if a prince of Mentz, and the first cardinal who had offered attendance, were excluded by them*.

The letter of the 26th of May to the same is interesting as discovering the difficulty in which the managers of the proposed council were placed, as to opening, or not opening it. If it be opened against the will of the Christian princes, the prelates of their kingdoms being dependent upon them will not come; and then the council will not in effect be ecumenic, nor their sentences received in the provinces which had no representative; and thus, to heal one wound many would be made. Afterwards it would be difficult, when desirable, to close the council; for it might ever be prolonged under the pretence, that the bishops were coming, and likewise the heretics, who could not do so before: malignant instruments and plausible arguments never being wanting to princes; and the protraction of the synod would be productive of both expected and unexpected dangers, without the hope of much benefit. On the other hand, to neglect the opening would scandalize and confound all Christendom, heresies would increase, souls be lost, obedience to the apostolic see diminished, and although all the

* —— et gli ritornarebbe in gran' favore, se un par' del Maguntino ch' e stato il primo de' Cardinali a comparir' fosse da noi escluso. It may be remarked here once for all, that the duplicates of these letters occasionally vary and correct each other in readings where the preference cannot be doubtful. Several instances occur in the next quotation. There is every mark of the two MSS having copied from the same original and variously representing an illegible or obscure word. The second, as we have placed them, seems to be the last written.

world would acquit his holiness of creating the obstacle, there would still be calumniators; and when abuses were not removed, of which they trusted for a certain cure to the council, the truth would not be believed, and they would look to the hands rather than the mouth*. And then would come the difficulty of keeping the council in this state of suspense, whether to close, suspend, or transfer it, amidst the contending and varying interests and efforts of the principals concerned. In this perplexity, the legates throw themselves upon the prudence and prayers of his Sanctity, and the divine illumination which may be the result; but they quickly return to, and end with, their politics with reference to the dreaded German Diet, except that their closing words are, that they would cease, neither to pray to God to inspire his holiness, nor to execute what should be commanded them.

Massarelli, under May 31, notices a congregation, at which were present eighteen prelates, whom he names; and under the 3d of June he writes, that the legates, after vespers in the cathedral, and the dismissal of those who belonged not to the council, communicated the mind of the emperor respecting the opening of the council, the sum of which was, that it did not then appear a fit time for the opening, since the Lutherans continued obstinate in their resolution not to come to it. The Summary, in the portion preceding the actual opening of the council, is occupied chiefly with appearances of various individuals before the legates on different pretences, with the answers of the latter to them. Most of the applications were from bishops, to excuse their attendance, or obtain leave of absence. This leave being refused to some of the French prelates, one is noticed for taking it, without even saluting or acquainting the legates.

There is a letter of the 7th of June to Cardinal Farnese, who had just left Trent, on the subject of admitting proxies,

* ——guarderebbono piu alle mani che alla bocca.

particularly from Germany. The legates write, that they had received instructions from Rome, that the matter would be taken into consideration, and that in the mean time the applicants for the privilege should be kindly treated. So they had done and would continue to do; but the Germans, they add, are naturally so suspicious and apt to take offence, that with all the blandishments and dexterity which they could put in practice, they are afraid lest these foreigners should think themselves trifled with, and return home. The legates mention the opinion transmitted to them from Rome, that those only should be allowed to be proxies who have in themselves a right to a voice in the council: but they hesitate, because some of the bishops would prefer, as their substitutes, theologians to prelates; and already, they say, Clocheo * is on his journey, and comes in the name of the bishop Sistetten †, with much zeal, and desire both of the public good, and of the advancement of religion. It may deserve consideration, they add, whether it be advisable to repel by the proposed regulation a man, who has so well deserved of the faith, by acts and writings in its defence against the assaults of heresy.

Something like approach was making towards the council, when the letter of the 8th of June was written to Farnese. After noticing with due feeling the illness and recovery of one of their number, il Revmo. Santa ✝, (frequently designated in this manner,) the legates observe, that in case the council should go forward, it would be necessary to have a Breviator ‡, and other officials; that, if the council, as other councils in similar cases, take cognizance of the Lutherans and England, it would be desirable that a petition be drawn up by some able man in Rome, detailing the origin and impieties of the Lutheran sect, and the

* This name, although so spelt in both copies, is, no doubt, the good friend of Luther, John Cochlæus.

† I can find no such place: from the variation in the two MSS I suspect it may be di Stettin.

‡ Or Abbreviator, a name sufficiently indicative of the office.

flame kindled in Christendom, the outrages and atrocities of the king of England, as they wish the process, if published, to begin well; and they desire to know, in what terms the monitory should be couched, and whether names of the heads of heresy should be inserted, as Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, the Landgrave, the duke of Saxony, the archbishop of Cologne *. They are anxious to make up for past tardiness by celerity in the progress; and they notice the arrival of two Spanish theologians of the Dominican order. Provision for the more indigent bishops forms a regular subject of solicitude; and the bishop of Chioggia, or Chiozza, in the Venetian territory, Naclantus, a name of some interest, was in such distress as to be relieved from the private purse of the legates.

It seems, by a letter of the 15th of July, to have been anticipated that the Spaniards would not be remarkably accommodating; for on the arrival of three doctors, it is reported as understood, that they came well prepared to defend their pragmatics, and to complain of infinite abuses. The pragmatics of the Spaniards seem to be rather troublesome to the legates; for they appear again under November 30.

A letter of the 19th of July touches upon the delicate subject of transferring the council; and the legates, naturally enough, while they object to any place more within Germany, have no objection to one more within Italy. But they strongly affirm, that it is impossible for things to continue in their present state, and that it will please no party for the council to remain still at anchor, dragging on its existence from season to season, from spring to summer, from summer to autumn and winter, with infinite injury both to the public and to private interests. It is to be observed, that this letter is written in answer to one in cipher. It has, therefore, very consistently a postscript in cipher. There,

* In a letter of the 31st of June, it is stated, as intelligence from Worms, that the not proceeding against the archbishop of Cologne was an occasion of much scandal—molto scandaloso.

the writers, with evident warmth, declare that they shall never be weary of his holiness's service, unless they find themselves and him caught like birds in a net, when they thought they were free. Passing events were made use of to lull them into security; and they feared that they should be so amused, that at last they would find themselves obliged, either to continue and burst with vexation where they were, or to remove into Germany. Eight bishops, four of them French, had arrived. They add, that, the longer they delayed, the greater would be the difficulty of disposing of the council without the consent of the council itself*; and the emperor the more he has outreached his holiness, the less will he respect him. In conclusion, deprecating offence for their freedom, they say, that they always urged, and did still, that the whole settlement, from first to last, should proceed from the council, which might then be proposed without a blush; since manifestly Germany would rather be injured than benefited by a contrary course. This was the point which roused them. Something must be deducted from the value of this remonstrance, in consideration of the monotony of vexation, which the legates would of necessity suffer in continuing so long, and with so much uncertainty, in a distant city, doing nothing.

The letter of the 26th of July to the same cardinal, it should be supposed, although no person is mentioned, discovers strongly the perplexity to which the legates were reduced by their peculiar circumstances. To celebrate the council in concurrence with a German colloquy and diet, not knowing what might be the result, or waiting for that result, and at the same time suspending the council, appeared equally dishonourable and dangerous. They were surrounded by jealousies and solicitudes. The Spanish prelates related, that in their passage through France and Lombardy and everywhere, they found great and incredible infection of the pernicious Lutheran heresy, which continued extending and

* Quanto piu indugiaremo tanto haveremo maggior fatica a disporre del concilio senza consenso di esso concilio, e l' imperatore, &c.

strengthening itself to such a point, that, unless a speedy remedy were applied, everything would instantly be lost; and they add, that those who were not infected yet vociferated for a council, although no one could believe or be persuaded, that any would be celebrated. This threw a load on the conscience and honour of his holiness and his see, and would do so increasingly, as the impediments arose from others, who, by retiring, prevented any effectual reformation from being accomplished. How the scales might turn, the legates could not devise, especially since the demands of the emperor were such as to leave no option to his Sanctity, but to offend either him, or his own prelates. Such were the perplexities in which the crooked policies of the world engaged a church, which least of any could say, that it was not of this world! The letter ends with congratulation for the communication, that, if the council were opened, it ought not to decline the cognizance of doctrine; but, after the example of other councils, should make it its first concern, and conform reformation to it. The reader will hereafter discover, that it was the main point with Rome to establish doctrine precisely to such an effect as to crush heresy, that is, the supposed existing form of it at the time, the Lutheran; and the main point of the emperor was, to let the former rest, and enforce reformation. But reformation was the great dread of the papacy; and we shall trace the contrivances and intrigues of that power to evade or avoid it. It appears that the subject is first explicitly started here.

In a letter of the 4th of September, complaint is made of the dangers and confusions which the legates experienced from the incompatibility of the diet and the council.

Dated the 19th of October, occurs a letter of some decision. The legates give their opinion with freedom, that the translation of the council, being unacceptable to the emperor, would be highly injurious; and to open and then suspend it, without effecting any reformation, would be equally objectionable; to continue in the same state they regard as unworthy of his holiness and the council. So that, in

failure of all worldly ways, they affirm that there is no other escape but by choosing the way of God, the only course which will dissipate all sinister imputations, and overcome all future difficulties. His holiness, therefore, should not be displeased with the emperor, but return instant answer, that, as the translation of the council was not agreeable to his majesty, he would celebrate the council effectually and without delay, proceeding, however, with due liberty and decorum. If the emperor acquiesce, nothing remains but to set about the work with spirit and cheerfulness, trusting to the event, which could not be otherwise than good, and adding all such precautions as human prudence suggests. If he object, the whole blame will lie upon him. The writers close with an apology for their freedom; but in a case of such importance as that of effacing the impression, that his holiness was averse to the council, they would bear the blame rather of presumption than of taciturnity. The urgency of this remonstrance, however, rather confirms than dispels the suspicion; and shows that they had no good, at least enduring, reason, to repel it as false and injurious, which, it may be remembered, they had formerly done*.

On the 8th of November, the legates express the extreme pleasure, with which they were assured of the most holy and prudent resolution of his holiness to open the council; and they thanked God and their lord, that the same intelligence had been received by divers bishops who were anxious to have it confirmed by a sight of their letter, which each of them read with incredible demonstrations of joy†.

* Adriani, in his Istoria de' suoi Tempi, a cotemporary and impartial writer, on this point writes, Ma il Papa temendo del successo ne andava prolungando quanto poteva l' effecto: stimando che ciò quando che siali potrebbe esser dannoso, essendo molte grande l' autorità de' Prelati e de' Vescovi congregati insieme in tal nome. Lib. V. p. 170. Firenze, 1583.

† It appears from the Diary, that when the pope had determined upon opening the council, he instituted *in Rome a congregation of cardinals and courtiers* to superintend and consult upon the affairs of the council; and they ordained that the decrees should be made under the name of the Holy Tridentine Synod, the legates apostolical presiding, and that the votes should be given as in the last Lateran council, not by nations, as in those of Con-

On the last day of November, the legates write full of fears from some untoward events, and, therefore, the more rejoiced, that his holiness persisted in his good resolution. They accordingly suggest, in the way of necessary provision, that a breve should be sent to them, conveying the commission to open the council. There should likewise be appointed the usual processions and fasts, and a command by bull to their Christian bishops to have a continued prayer in their churches for peace and the success of the council. Annoyed by the pragmatics of the Spanish doctors, three of whom were present, they wish for one or more advocates as a check; an abbreviator likewise, a secretary, and a sum of money.

The legates, on the 2d of December, recognize the announcement, that the third Sunday in Advent, then begun, should be the day of opening; and repeat their application for the desired breve or letter, which should be sent express, in order to prevent the opening being published before the authority came; and which is likewise desired to make their commission certain, as their most reverend correspondent had barely informed them in his communication of the 7th of last month, that his holiness, with the approbation of the sacred college, had appointed the third Sunday of Advent for the beginning of the council *. Upon so important a business they press a precise mandate.

Anxiously expecting *that* mandate, they write on the 5th, that the Spaniards obtained news from Rome sooner than they; and that, to all appearance, these colleagues, to whom they seem to bear the most friendly feeling, were more astonished than pleased with the course which affairs were then taking. The suffragan of Mentz, and the cardinal of Trent begged leave of absence to attend the colloquy, (then just begun,) at Ratisbon, and were courteously

stance and Basil; and the pope made a breve, that those who attended the council should be exempt from tenths and enjoy their incomes as usual.

* —— col parere del collegio ha deputata la terza domenica dell' Avvento, nella quale si cominci il concilio.

denied. They close with an expression of fear, that their instructions will not be in time, if the council is to open on the appointed day. The reader may observe, that here was another imperial assembly to molest the designs of the pontiff, his cause and council.

The 12th of December was a very important day; it was the day immediately preceding that, on which was appointed to meet a council, of the event of which at the time, the parties composing it, and to be affected by it, as well as the whole world, were perfectly ignorant, whatever were their respective designs, and whatever their expectations. That the great Controller, whose name and authority were dishonoured by the claim made to them, and whose cause was little promoted by those who were under a necessity to act against it, was fulfilling by this means some great purpose of his Providence, partly apparent, and partly to reveal itself in future, is a fact which we recognize and contemplate with adoring and submissive gratitude.

On this day, the legates of Trent write, that yesterday, the 11th at the twenty-second hour and a half, (or three o'clock in the afternoon*,) were received the letters of Farnese, sent on the 7th, with breves †; and immediately they appointed the fasts and processions for the same day; and they add, in the name of God, to-morrow we shall give a beginning to the council, and effect to the resolution of his holiness. Of the proceedings they will give account as they occur. They will assemble a congregation of prelates immediately, when the breve for opening the council will be read; and consultation will be had of what is proper to be done in this first act. They specify in what manner they suppose the business will be conducted on the morrow, which, as it is agreeable enough to the fact, may very properly give

* So it must be for 45° north lat., which includes Trent, according to the tables of Gavanti, Thes. Sac. Rit. end of 2d volume. I do not know how to understand Massarelli's calling the 11th the 10th, and the 12th the 11th of December, although he calls them Friday and Saturday, and properly numbers the next day 13, calling it Sunday, as of course it was.

† —— li brevi.

place to the relation from the same pen, when the supposition became fact.

All this was highly proper to be written: and the fact of the case invites the reflexion, that history is studied in a series of letters containing it, far differently and in some respects more advantageously, than in a formal narrative written in times posterior to the events recorded; although that method likewise has its advantages. It is exceedingly difficult, and indeed perfectly to do so impossible, to place ourselves in any precise point of time, where what is now past and certain, was future and uncertain, when what we now calmly read as matters of history, were objects of fears and wishes of every intensity, and of plans and conjectures covered with impenetrable obscurity; except so far as the probabilities from the general connexion of cause and effect—the great guide of human duty, where no positive command of God is known—may cast a feeble ray into the region of darkness. This state of things and feelings is most perfectly realized by letters of the parties concerned; and inferences may arise from the scenes and exhibitions, which they present, of some value to the reader, both in rectifying his judgement of others, and in regulating his own conduct.

Session I.

OPENING OF THE COUNCIL UNDER PAUL III.

On the 13th of December, 1545, the third Sunday in Advent, the 12th year of the pontificate of Paul III, and the feast St. Lucia, the Council of Trent was opened, and held its first session.

We cannot do better than present the letter written that very day by the legates, when the business was over.

'At this third hour of the night it is our intention, that 'the servants of Sig^r. Don Diego should despatch a courier 'to Rome; and because the hour is late, and the greater 'part of the day has been spent in ceremonies, we will only 'inform your most Reverend Lordship, that to-day, in the 'name of God, and to the honour and glory of our Lord*, 'the council was opened, as will be particularly and fully 'related in to-morrow's despatch. Trent.'

The promise of this letter is amply fulfilled by the next on the day following. The legates inform their usual correspondent, that yesterday saw the commencement of the council, to the praise and glory of God, to the exaltation and increase of the Christian faith and religion, and to the perpetual honour of their Lord, (N. Sig^re.) with solemn processions and the customary ceremonies. Agreeably to the general opinion, they proceed, his Blessedness may with great reason rejoice, and prefer this day, as felicitous above all others, for opening the way to the regular means of maintaining the authority of the apostolic see and the universal church, at the same time providing for the salvation of souls, and for satisfying the expectation and desire of the Christian world, in a greater degree than any of his predecessors had done. After the prayers and cere-

* ——al nome di Dio, et honore e gloria di Nrō Sig^re. The pope is uniformly designated by this latter appellation. Did the legates consider that they were writing *privately*?

monies of the day, was read by the legates, (in the cathedral, for *there* was the assembly,) the bull of the revocation of the suspension of the council, as well as that of the mandate, in their persons: and then, after deliberation, it was declared, that the council began on that day. According to the wish of some prelates, the day after Epiphany was fixed upon for the first session *. And as time was hastening on, and accidents might occur, the legates wished for more particular instructions—more especially with reference to a note left by them at their departure from Rome —whether to begin with heresies, and whether generally or particularly; when reformation is started, whether doctrine should be united with it, or which should have the priority; and in case of its being proposed to begin with the court of Rome, what should they do? since it is to be understood that all the world is clamouring after this blessed reformation †—how the council should be announced to the sovereigns—what should be its form or seal—whether they should dissemble their knowledge of the colloquy and diet—with other points. But they add, in a postscript, their wish to be directed as to any proposal to proceed *by nations*, or any question respecting the power of the council, or that of the pope, or of the pope with reference to the council. They desire likewise to know the nature and extent of their own presidency. They request, that the use of the breve of habilitation of German prelates may be in their hands, lest the Lutherans should take advantage of it by means of proxies, and that they may avail themselves of it in favour of the well-disposed. There are some other points of minor importance.

It may be observed, that the whole of this account accords with the formal one in the summary of Massarelli. He writes that the revocation of the suspension was read

* This will account for the way of numbering the sessions in the editions published in Paris and in Antwerp, in 1546, where the IId session, as now numbered, is called the Ist.

† ——questa benedetta reformatione.

by the Bishop of Feltro, which is probably no contradiction to the assertion that both the bulls were read in the person of the presidents *. At all events it is an unimportant one. To the question of the presidents, whether it pleased the assembled bishops to decree and declare, that the council should begin, and was begun, it was unanimously answered, Placet; and to the question of the first future session being celebrated on the day after Epiphany, the same consent was given. The names of the members present are added; and they appear to agree with those in Le Plat's edition of the canons and decrees of the council, namely,—the three Presidents, four archbishops, twenty-two bishops, two ambassadors, five generals of orders, with many secular and regular doctors.

Session II.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Mode of living, &c., in the Council.

Massarelli writes, that on Friday, the 18th of December, was held the first General Congregation after the opening of the council. The first president, Cardinal del Monte, delivered an exhortation to the fathers, that they should prepare themselves, both internally and externally, for the due celebration of so important a work as the council. Then were read seventeen articles, in which the presidents propose both such things as are necessary, and such as should be discussed, for the proper conduct of the council.

Most of these articles are indeed obvious. The first recommends, that, as to life and manners, they should study to render God propitious by prayers, fastings, alms, and other pious works. Another provides for the security of the place in coming, remaining, and returning. Another

* ——in persona di noi Presidenti.

suggests that it should be declared, what persons are to be admitted to give a consultative or deliberative voice, or both. Another directs, that the subjects to be treated of in the congregations and sessions should be previously examined, and a determination made, how, and by whom they should be examined*. One near the end impresses the reverence which is due to their most holy Father and Lord, Paul, chief pontiff. The rest might be anticipated.

In a letter of the 19th† nothing of particular importance occurs, except the answer which is reported by the writers to have been made to the proxies of the Cardinal of Augsburg, where they observe, that it would be a bad example in the beginning of the council to allow them a decisive voice, but that they might be permitted to excuse, consult, and accept what was done in the council: and they suggest a letter from Rome approving their determination.

On Tuesday, the 29th of December, was held a general congregation, in which were passed two decrees,—the first respecting abbots and generals of orders, and their decisive voice in sessions; the other for the election of three prelates to examine the titles and promotions of bishops, and of their order‡, &c.

The letter of the presidents, dated the last day of December, refers to this congregation; and the question of a decisive voice in the sessions they suspect to be moved by the bishops, in order to prevent the privilege from descending below their own order, and particularly to exclude the generals and abbots. The legates, however, mean to evade any determination of the point; and on the occasion strongly supported the authority of his holiness in the persons of

* This was the origin of the controlling power so earnestly contended *for* by the legates, and *against* by a considerable party in the council, in consequence of which no subject could be introduced to discussion but such as they approved, the proposal lying with them. We shall see a deal of this.

† It is most perversely marked 29 in both MSS—a date confuted by the very remainder of the date, and by the beginning of the letter.

‡ Massarelli.

individuals eminent for their theological learning, and so highly favoured by him as to be invited and deputed to the council by him. Their suggestions were assented to; and it was ordained, that decrees should be composed in the *first* session, relating to their own duty to God and the reformation of themselves and families, and of the members of the council.

The faithful servants of the pontiff write on the 5th of January 1546, that his authority, to which they are most devoted, cannot be supported in the council, without supplying the necessities of the indigent members, as well as of the officials. After a few paragraphs, they give their views of indulgences in a manner not devoid of simplicity and curiosity. 'To the granting of indulgences,' they say, 'we have always paid the greatest attention, both before and 'after the opening of the council. All have been pro- 'nounced by the authority of our Lord, as will be done in 'future, when the breve shall come which confers the 'faculty. We beseech his holiness to treat as ratified the 'indulgences hitherto granted by us, in the masses per- 'formed in our chapels, of three years and five quaran- 'tenes, and of ten on Christmas day; and certainly his 'Beatitude should not, in our opinion, be backward in this, 'since it satisfies the people and maintains his own au- 'thority and reputation'*. The legates immediately after recognize a general congregation on the preceding day, in which it was decreed among other things noticed before, that what they call the *second* session, but since and still called the third, should be celebrated on the first Thursday after the purification †. They propose to begin with matters

* Tutte sono state pronunciate per autorita di Nrō Sig^re., come anco si fara per l' avenire, venendo il breve, che ci ne dia facolta. Supplichiamo ben, che S. S. si degni haver rate le indulgenze concesse, &c. . . . . e certamente sua Beatitudine non deve al giuditio nostro essere scarsa in questo, perche se ne satisfa al popolo, e si mantiene l' autorita, e riputatione sua.

† This in the year 1546, the dominical letter being D, was the 4th of February. The reader will observe, that the sessions are here again reckoned as if the opening were none. They are reckoned in the present way,

of *faith*, because they discover, that it is the intention of the greater part of the council to reverse the order, and begin with *reformation*, on the ground that heresies have arisen principally from deformation and transgression. Which, as they cannot assent to, so they cannot resist, if it should appear to the council that all the three heads for which their lord had assembled it, namely, heresy, reformation, and peace*, should be treated *at one time*, in order to promote despatch and other objects. After giving the subject their earnest attention for several hours, the three presidents had concluded, that if the measure should be persisted in as expedient for the reputation of Christianity, they would not, by opposing it, incur the imputation of being averse to reformation, and incorrigible. They would, however, insist, that the reformation should be *universal*, and apply to princes and profane persons† as well as ecclesiastics. This method will prevent one party from rejoicing at the expense 'of the other; and if,' they add, 'our 'reformation is exclusively called for we shall have a right 'to oppose, and show our teeth, since we have reason on 'our side.' They wish to have speedy information on these points, because in the first congregation after the session, which would be the next day, they must necessarily come to something *substantial*‡, *preparatory* affairs having been disposed of. They relate their determined opposition to the formidable words proposed and approved by almost all§—Ecclesiam universalem repræsentans—adding, that their opposition was founded not only on the

however, so early as the edition of the Acta at Milan, in 1548. Massarelli records the congregation on the 4th of January, and observes, that some desired to add to the title of the council universalem Ecclesiam repræsentans—the reader will have enough of this in the sequel—but the greater part determined that it should not be added.

* See the bull of indiction, May 22, 1542, given in all the editions of the canons, &c., towards the end, and repeated in the Bulla Revocatoria Suspensionis, copied by Le Plat in his Monum. about the middle of the bull.

† Profani.

‡ Cosa sostantiale.

§ ——quasi a tutti piacessero.

intrinsic importance of the words, but likewise on their tendency to recall what followed in the decrees of the councils of Constance and Basil. They had urged likewise, they write, that the words were inflated, and invidious, both to them and to the heretics*; that they were virtually comprehended in the title, Ecumenical; and so they proceeded in the argument, 'as each of us three was inspired, without 'discovering the secret of our mind †.' A postscript follows, which announces, that a communication, likely to be more private than the preceding, accompanied this. It was probably on a separate paper.

On perusing the letter just detailed, the reader can scarcely avoid being struck by the concluding sentiment, which displays so strongly the satisfaction which an Italian, above almost any other mind, feels, in contemplating the success of a stratagem, so complete, that the agency of the mind which contrived it escapes without detection.

The second session was to be on the morrow; and on the 7th of January it was celebrated.

The manner in which Massarelli records this session at the commencement is remarkable. He calls it the second session, the opening of the council being computed as the first. The mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated and an oration delivered by the Bishop of St. Mark; and the exhortation of the president was read, as the author expresses himself, (thereby announcing his authority, in a way not unusual with Italian writers,) 'by me, Angelo Massarelli, 'secretary of the council.' A bull was read prohibiting bishops to appear by proxies; likewise the breve, which commanded the council to be opened on the 13th of December last. Lastly was read the decree of the session for the manner of living and other things to be observed in the council. The decree was approved by all, except some who,

* ——ampullose et invidiosi—the concern for heretics on this occasion is worthy of remark.

† ——secondo che ciascheduno di noi tre fu inspirato, sensaes coprire il segreto dell' animo nostro.

although they approved the decree, wished to have added to the title of the council, universalem Ecclesiam repræsentans. The next session was appointed for the 4th of February. The three legates presidents, four archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, two ambassadors, three abbots, five generals of orders, the proxy of the cardinal of Augsburg, and many barons, were present*.

The letter written the day after by the presidents varies so little from the preceding account, that two things only deserve to be noticed in it. The first is, their attempt to soften the eagerness of those who urged the representing clause in such a manner, that the authority of the pontiff and the holy see should escape unhurt. The second is, the admission, that reformation was desired by all, and could not be deferred without scandal.

SESSION III.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Symbol of Faith.

THE general congregation which assembled on the 13th of January did nothing of importance. The principal act, besides routine business, was, to conclude, that the words Universalis et Oecumenica should be adopted instead of the representing clause. This is Massarelli's account.

The two letters of the presidents, both written on the day following, give the same representation of the proceedings of the congregation; adding, that their exertions respecting the title of the council were rewarded by the assent of two thirds of the members to their opinion. Then follows a representation which does not tell much in favour of the writers. Understanding that there existed a general desire to leave preparatories and come to substantials, we, they say,

* I take the list from that in Le Plat's edition of the canons, &c. It very nearly, if not exactly, agrees with that of Massarelli.

proposed to consideration the three heads contained in the bull, and that they should pray to God for his illumination, and we, and each, would give his opinion at the next congregation. 'We made this proposal,' they continue, 'thus in general in order to appear to second the de-'sire manifested of entering upon substantials, and to gain 'time to receive an answer from his most reverend lord-'ship*.' If this is not arrant hypocrisy, it is a profane degradation of religion to the purposes of human policy and deceit.

The first part of the next letter of the same date is occupied with a speculation about engaging the English king to join the papal interest and proscribe the books of Luther. But the latter part is important, where the legates recommend to the pope to send to the council ten or twelve prelates who may be trusted, and well qualified in other respects; as the ultramontanes, and particularly Spain, were sending exemplary and learned men in considerable strength; and they ought to have an adequate counterbalance. They mention, that on the highest authority they were informed, that six or eight Lutherans were amongst them, whose names they decline stating since they were obtained through the medium of confession. They do not, however, believe the fact†. They mention, that Dominico de Soto had obtained permission of the pope to have a definitive voice in the council, as his principal was unable personally to appear. Their informant, the cardinal of Jaen, was astonished at it for the example's sake.

* Questa proposta fu fatta da noi cosi in genere per mostrar' di secondar il dessiderio loro d'entrar nelle cose sostantiali, et metter nondimeno tempo in mezzo finche venisse la risposta da VS. R^ma^.

† The great and irrefragable author, as the writers call the informant, understood how to get over the difficulties of his profession. He says, che non può dire il nome per haverlo in confessione; ma che farà con gli effetti tutto quello che vorremo. So then, what he cannot do *direct* he can do through a *medium*. This is now the approved method of treating oppressive oaths: and with those who adopt true papal ethics, oaths are useless except to deceive.

Massarelli, in his relation of the general congregation of the 18th of January, states, that there was much contention in it, the fathers being divided into four parties—those who thought it best to begin with doctrines; those who preferred beginning with reformation; while others were for making peace; and the fourth would unite doctrine and reformation. But nothing was concluded. It was likewise proposed by the cardinal of Trent to write to the Lutherans; which was not done.

The letter which follows, and is strangely dated the 29th, (although it uses the word yesterday, as designating the time of the congregation just described, with which the description in the letter accurately agrees, and therefore determines the right date to the 19th,) purports, that the presidents, agreeably to the plan before stated, proposed the subject of the three heads, in order to discover the sentiments of the meeting, not only generally but particularly. There certainly was, as we might expect from the statement of the summary, a great variety of opinions, which are detailed with much particularity in the letter before us. The arguments of each party are ingenious, although rather obvious. Those who contended for the simultaneous consideration of the two main subjects appear to the greatest advantage. The French were disposed to consider the head of peace the most deserving of attention. There were not wanting those, who thought, that the Lutherans should be invited in an amicable way: they might be gained; and this would serve to justify the council. The legates say of themselves, that having listened to satiety, they concluded that, as the hour was late, the deliberation most weighty, and the opinions various, they would consider the subject, and in the next congregation, *propose* the points upon which the fathers should have to give their opinion. And here again they confess, whether in simplicity or not, that one of their objects was to gain more time for hearing from Rome. To prolong the council, they observe, when it might be abbreviated, is not for the service

of the apostolic see. They close by saying, that they had appointed two days in each week, Monday and Friday, and without further notice, as stated days for the general congregations; and this, to keep the prelates in exercise, to prevent voluntary meetings; and because, as the council proceeded, business would increase upon them.

On the 22d of January a general congregation agreed, that doctrine and reformation should proceed simultaneously, and that the Christian sovereigns should be synodically addressed to induce them to assist the council*.

This congregation is adverted to in a letter of the same day. The presidents observe, that it is difficult to combat the reasonings of the advocates of 'this blessed reformation, 'desired by all without exception, and little trusted to.' One argument which they used against those who desired to treat of reformation singly or in preference was, the reported resolution of the emperor to continue the diet, upon the plea that, if the council made no progress, he might be justified in convoking a fresh diet for the purpose of settling both the doctrines and abuses of religion: the neglect, therefore, to treat of doctrines would be to canonize such assembly; for it would be urged, that, the subject not admitting further delay, the course taken was rendered necessary. This convinced the congregation, with one or two exceptions, that doctrine and reformation should be treated together, and proceed *di pari;* although a great and rich prelate, in a premeditated and read oration, earnestly contended for simple reformation, urging the present opportunity, and exaggerating existing deformities, withal adding, that, unless their vessels were purified, the Holy Spirit would not inhabit them; and so the council would become a nullity. We, write the aroused legates, proposed an immediate and personal reformation of ourselves, the council and the rulers of it in particular. We commended the suggestion of so holy a resolution, because, beginning with ourselves, we might hope in time to reform the rest of the

* Massarelli.

world. We exhorted all, with efficacious words, to reduce the advice to practice, and effectually purify each of us our own vessels. Our proposal was commended by all, but not followed, many alleging, that, since the reformation should be universal, it was unnecessary to waste time in this particularity. In this manner we repelled the suspicion, that we were unfriendly to reformation; and the effect was eminently successful in advancing the honour and estimation of our Lord, and the apostolic see*.—Without at all intending to impeach the sincerity of the legates, the challenge was certainly, and might be known to be, a very safe one. The scene described is, in all views of it, singular; and discovers, with what confidence may be acted upon the assumption, that human nature, in its passion for reform, is more anxious to apply the benefit extraneously, whether to person or thing, than to itself.

In a congregation of the 26th of January, it was proposed, among other methods of discussion, that the whole council should be divided into three classes, to be assembled before any one of the presidents, and to discuss familiarly, whether in the Latin or native language; the result to be referred to the particular congregations, and to be established in a general one. Hence all would take their share in the proceedings of the council.

Another general congregation took place on the 29th of January, in which the letters to be sent to the sovereigns were read; and it was deliberated, without being settled, whether the letters of the king of France or of the king of the Romans were to be read first in the sessions. The classes were to be chosen by the legates†.

The letter of the 1st of February intimates some dissatis-

* After this letter there is a chasm to the 2d of March, in the first volume of the Epistolary collection; and the second, or duplicate, closes this course finally. The third collection, which begins from February 1, 1546, will be our exclusive epistolary guide, till it rejoins the first at the 2d of March.

† It will be understood, once for all, that these historic details are from the Summarium of Massarelli, except where the contrary is expressed.

faction expressed by his holiness, in consequence of which the general congregation standing for that day was postponed; and after a long consultation among themselves as to holding a session without making a decree, they had determined upon a mean, which was, to intimate simply, that, since many prelates were expected, they would abstain from making decrees until another session, which would be announced. They trust, that, when his holiness considers the difficulties of their situation, he will be satisfied with what they have hitherto done, notwithstanding the calumnies of one of those prelates, who would exalt themselves at the expense of others.

On the 2d of February the classes met for the first time; and it was there discussed, whether the promulgation of a decree should be abstained from, and whether the following session should be announced or not in the next session; and after much dispute the questions were remitted to the general congregation.

There is a letter of the same date, which recognizes with increasing distinctness a party in the council who may be called reformers*, such as insisted upon commencing with reformation alone. *They*, however, were persuaded, that doctrines should not be thrown behind, but, since the synod wished it, should be joined with reformation. Nor could this wish be well resisted, as the two points were united in his holiness's bull. They could not therefore propose to begin precisely with doctrines, from the prospect of manifest danger, and accordingly contented themselves with proposing generally instead of particularly; in order, according to his holiness's direction, to discover parties and to avoid compromising themselves. They represent themselves in great difficulty from not receiving an answer which they expected from his holiness; and this, they say, while it obliged them to resort to procrastination, brought upon them the hazard of a formidable defection. They close the letter with eight

* This appellation wanders over every kind and degree of bad or good, according to the subject, and the means which are employed.

reasons for the conduct, which, under these disadvantages, they had pursued.

A general congregation was held on the 3d of February, in which it was concluded, that, on the session of the morrow, two decrees should be published, the one containing the symbol of faith, the other the determination relative to the absent prelates: the day of the future session was likewise to be fixed for the Thursday after the fourth Sunday in Lent, the 8th of April. Some wished a decree to be published respecting the mode of proceeding in the synod, from doctrine and reformation together and for once*: this, however, was negatived by the majority. There were other points determined of less importance.

On Thursday, the 4th of February, was celebrated the third session of the council. The usual church service was performed, and an oration delivered by Ambrosio Caterino. After a short and the usual introduction, representing the Creed, the Nicene, as the foundation of Christian faith and the defence against heresy, that creed was repeated, as the first decree; and the next expressed the expectation of a fuller attendance of bishops at the next session, which was fixed as above stated. The members present differed only from the former number in the addition of the two cardinals, of Trent and of Jaen, who were not legates, and two bishops.

The two preceding sessions and this were plainly only preparatory, although proper and in the main unexceptionable. The fourth will introduce something substantial and not quite so innocent.

There is so little more than a recognition of the slight business of this session in the letter of the legates of the same day, that the more extended attention to that not unimportant letter shall be reserved for the next division of the work.

* —— simul et semel.

Session IV.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Canonical Scriptures.

The letter of the presidents, written on the very day of the last, the third session, assumes somewhat of a new style and increasing importance, as then, what are justly called substantials, were in immediate view, and must be fairly encountered. The letter expresses great anguish in the writers at the displeasure of the pope, on account of their compromising concession relative to reformation. They had succeeded, however, in the last congregation in having the subject deferred. This produced an insinuation, that Rome was averse to reformation, which the legates endeavoured to repel by assurances of the good will of his holiness on that point, who, they were informed, had begun the reform in his own person*. They had satisfied the complainants respecting the delay in determining the title of the council, by promising, that an important decree would be passed on the subject. They endeavour to calm the apprehensions of his holiness on the subject of reformation by a particular interpretation of the term, as applying, not simply to the court of Rome, 'but to all Christendom, to all prelates, 'priests, monks, and seculars, both ecclesiastic and secular 'princes—a subject so large, that it cannot be despatched 'quickly, although it should be entered upon instantly, 'especially as doctrines must always have the first place; 'and if, in the course of discussion, the court should be 'touched, they would not fail to make the council sensible, 'that it had something else to do than to remind his 'holiness of what it deemed expedient for him.' If his holiness wishes matters to go on in their present course, they suggest, that a breve, or letter, should be sent, which

* —— del reformar la persona sua propria. The legates do not, in all probability, mean to be understood too literally—they refer to the household, and immediate dependants of the court.

may be shewn, (*mostrabile,*) because the private communications, (*avisi particolari,*) which came from Rome, had occasioned, and continued to occasion, great suspicion among all the bishops, as if it were attempted by means of the council to mock the world. At this early period it appears, that the legates thought of beginning the doctrinal labours of the assembly with the doctrine of Original Sin.

The next letter of the 5th of February does but repeat what has appeared before, that the object of the emperor was, not doctrine and a process against heretics, but reformation of abuses, from which the heresy, such as it was, proceeded. The remedy to this evil, the legates say, is, to insist upon the junction of the two objects, the not adhering to which will give them a good pretence to break up and go home; while the cause of the rupture will not be imputable to them, nor can the dreaded injunction be applied to them, 'attend to reformation alone.'

The letter of the 7th acquaints their Roman correspondent, that at the ordinary congregation of the morrow, the 8th, they mean to propose, that, previously to entering into the heart of doctrines, they should establish the books of scripture, both of the old and new testament, as the necessary foundations, upon which should be built the other conclusions, the more controverted and insolvable; inasmuch as this very head may be said to be controverted, not only by heretics, but by themselves. This will be a useful procedure, as it will directly introduce Tradition. The discussion will give time to receive the suggestions of his holiness respecting reformation, and the manner in which he would have it treated. For this valuable purpose the particular and general congregations may be kept in due occupation; and if the aversion of Rome to reformation be charged, the charge may be parried by observing, that although it may have place against some few courtiers, his holiness is clear.

The first substantial matter was now fairly launched. The scriptures, whether with or without tradition, were both

a doctrine and the foundation of all the doctrine, which the Christian church should hold or teach. Accordingly, in a general congregation, celebrated the day following that on which the epistle just represented was written, after an apology from the presidents, that the contested addition to the title of the council was for the present postponed, it was concluded, that before all things the canonical books of the sacred scripture should be received, as the foundation of all that was to be decided in the sacred synod. And on the 11th of February was a meeting of the classes, where the question was proposed, whether the scriptures should be received absolutely, or with any discussion of the reasons for or against the admission of particular books. The opinions were various, and the subject was referred to the general congregation.

A letter was written by the legates on this very day. They say, that they had been engaged in the particular congregations (or classes) until night, and the next day was a general one. They repeat the altercations which took place on the subject of the scriptures, which were, in parts, impugned both by heretics and members of the Roman church, particularly by Cardinal Caetano, who has left it in writing as his opinion that the epistle to the Hebrews was not written by the apostle Paul. The general congregation would take place on the morrow, when tradition would be introduced, which would be followed by purifying the doctrine relative to the scriptures from its abuses—by determining, namely, that the scriptures should not be interpreted by private opinion; that preaching should be in conformity with the sense of the church; and that the sorti dell' Epifania* should be abolished. The utility of the

* What these sorti dell' Epifania exactly may be, I cannot discover. Perhaps the best explanation is to be found in Hospiniani de Festis Christianorum, Genev. 1674, pp. 42, et seqq. sub voce Epiphania, or the 6th of January, and in the verses of Naogeorgus which he quotes from the ivth book of his Regnum Papisticum, which may be considered as a Fasti Papales. The twelfth cake is there very graphically celebrated; and there are certainly now, as then were, lots connected with it. I had looked into

particular congregations, or classes, as they are called, they affirm to be great, because a multitude can more easily be governed when divided; likewise on account of the order observed in making the division; and lastly, because there is more independence as to the authority of others. The legates point out, with apparent self-gratulation, that they had thus begun to act upon the principle of treating the doctrine first, and then the abuse connected with, or flowing from it. Which method, they add, if it can be continued, will produce without noise the effect which is desired *, and his holiness need not fear for himself. The suspected faith of P. P. Vergerio is here alluded to, probably for the first time.

The general congregation referred to, which met on the

Hospiniani's book, but the passage would have escaped me had it not been pointed out afterwards by a friend. To another friend I am indebted for an extract from Charpentier's Supplement to Ducange's Glossarium under the word Montina, which seems to have relation to the subject, as the reference is from the word Epiphania. Montina: vulgo Montine. Ludi genus. Lit. remiss. an. 1450, in Reg. 182. Chartoph. Reg. ch. 74. 'En la ville d'Arras les jeunes compaignons enfans de bourgois de la dite ville et autres, ont accoustumé de leur assembler et aler la veille *de la feste des Roys* és hostelz de leur voisins des dits bourgois et autres gens d'icelle ville, et porter par esbatement et juge de la solempnite de ladite feste aucuns petits joyaulx, dons ou presens à son de menestrez ou autres joyeulx instrumens, et jouer en l'ostel du bourgois ou autre où ilz entrent, a ung jeu nommé Montine; et se iceulx compaignons perdent audit jeu aux gens dudit hostel où ilz entrent, on les chasse dehors par esbatement, sans leur donner à boire; et se ilz gagnent, on leur donne à boire et ont l'onneur. Ex quibus videtur fuisse *ludicræ sortionis species*, vulgo *Loterie*, cui ludere qui proponebant, si ludebant adversa fortuna, eo fere modo habebantur quo apud nos olim *crustularii*, Gall. Oublieux. Oublieux or Oublieurs are the men who cry wafers through the streets in French towns. I should have been glad to find a more direct reference to scripture in this, although there is plainly some to scripture history—something like the *Sortes Sanctorum*, which would be quite to the purpose, if in any instance they were particularly connected with the Epiphany. But perhaps the superstition was an Italian local one. I am rather surprised, that Thiers has nothing about it in his Traité des Superstitions, though it is professedly confined to the sacraments.

* —— co'l qual modo potendosi seguire si verra a fare senza strepito l' effetto che si cerca.

12th, agreed, that the sacred books should be received simply, and enumerated as in the Florentine council.

In the continuation of the preceding epistle to the 12th, the day of the congregation, the legates advert to that meeting, with which as represented above their account perfectly agrees; and they add particularly, that the congregation declined any opinion, whether for the sake of the infirm in the church it might not be advisable to distinguish the degrees of authority in the books of the old testament, as some holy doctors had done, calling one portion canonical, and the other hagiographic only. There follows a letter of the 11th, kept to the 12th, in the first person singular. And here it may be observed, that in the joint letters, as they would naturally be written by one individual, that individual frequently inserts what is personal to himself with the mention of his name. Which of the three legates is the writer of the present letter does not appear; but it is quite a familiar one, for which the writer somewhat apologizes; and it is likewise a sensible one. He congratulates himself and his colleagues, that although business would now accumulate upon them, there would be less confusion and disorder, when their conclusions, instead of wandering at large over an extensive surface of undefined and varying opinion, as they had done before, would become henceforth necessary deductions from fixed premises or principles. He supposes, that by collecting together the controverted points of religion, the larger portion of them will be found to have been already settled, and those that are strictly new he presumes to be few in number; so that—it is useful to observe the cloud, and generally the delusion, under which every generation is kept at every successive moment of the present, with respect to the future—so that, if the legates wish, the council may terminate far more speedily than is commonly expected. It is true, that wars were considered possible as an impediment. And, although this was no very hazardous suggestion, it was certainly and abundantly verified. But from whatever cause, this council, the period of which was thus an-

ticipated before it had well begun, continued its existence, with intervals, for eighteen years.

There was a general congregation on the 15th of February, the results of which are sufficiently for their importance given in the succeeding letter. And indeed the real argument upon the subject keeps so progressively contracting, that we shall endeavour to avoid repetition when any characteristic incident is not thereby sacrificed.

In a letter of the day after, or the 16th, (as from internal evidence it must be, although written 18 in the manuscript,) the legates, giving an account of *yesterday's* congregation, state the grounds taken by the opponents on the question of the parity of authority in the whole of the scriptures, and the expediency of detailing the arguments for and against the controverted books. Those who were in favour of publishing their arguments urged the good opinion, which such a course would create in the world, of the care and circumspection with which every thing was conducted in the council; while the opposite party argued, that as the reasons alleged, although favourable, could not in their nature be demonstrative, it would give occasion to the ill-disposed to impugn, and thus impair, the authority of the decree which should be made.

In one letter of the 18th is just mentioned a particular congregation, or class meeting, as Massarelli reports it, in which the proposed subject was, apostolic tradition, and the abuses connected with the scriptures. In another of the same date, nothing is so remarkable as the fear, which haunts the papal agents, of reformation being made to take precedence of doctrine.

We are now introduced to a new set of actors on the conciliar stage—theologians *extra concilium*. Their first congregation was held on the 20th of February; and the presidents proposed the questions, what were the canonical scriptures, and whether they were to be received simply or with discussion; and likewise whether the apostolic traditions were to be received jointly with the scriptures or

separately. All approved the reception of the scriptures and the enumeration of the books: many had no objection to the discussion of reasons: all were in favour of uniting the apostolic traditions with the scriptures.

The letter of the 21st of February, assuming as established the three foundations or principles of—the creed, scripture, and tradition—represents the ensuing articles for consideration, as, ecclesiastic traditions and canons of the holy councils, to which will succeed doctrines—namely, the Trinity; the creation of our first parent; the fall; original sin; and then the reparation and justification of men, and so forth. But these doctrines not having many abuses attached to them, it would be necessary to come to reformation without great delay. The most original and interesting part of the letter, however, will be that, probably, in which an account is given of the origin of the theological congregations, which have just appeared for the first time. 'Finding here,' say the legates, 'a good number of theologians, of every order, and of divers 'nations, we have frequently thought, in order that they 'might not be unemployed, and to avail ourselves of their 'industry and counsel, to admit them into the particular con-'gregations. But this we found to be so odious to the 'bishops, that we altered our plan, and determined to as-'semble them by themselves in our presence, which was 'done this day for the first time, to our mutual satisfaction; 'and so peace and content were secured.'

It being agreed upon in a general congregation of the 26th of February, that a decree should be drawn up uniting the sacred books and the apostolic traditions, six prelates were appointed for that purpose.

The first of the letters on the 27th represents the majority as secretly inclined to put a speedy termination to the council. The second of the same date, of which the penman by the letter itself appears to be the second president, the cardinal della Croce, recognized the appointment of the six deputies, two under each of the presidents. The letter states, that the only bishops who opposed the union of doctrine and refor-

mation, were three, the first, of Fiesole, whose meaning could not be discovered; the second, of Astorga, who was disgusted with such things, as being trifles, and wished to come to the reformation of men, not of the scriptures; and the third, of Chioggia, or Chiozza, better known by his Latin title, Naclantus episc. Clodiensis, who insinuated, that traditions were superfluous, and that all which was necessary to salvation was written, and even alleging for this purpose St. Augustine on the sixth chapter of St. John—simply, adds our legate, because he was ignorant, that many circumstances in the sacraments are derived only from tradition. He contended likewise, respecting the scripture, that the council ought not to adopt the enumeration of Eugenius IV in the council of Florence, which error it gives the legate no little trouble to rectify*.

The attention of the succeeding congregations was occupied by abuses of the scriptures.

That of the 1st of March is noticed in a letter of the next day. There was another of the 6th of the theologians to discuss with the abuses the remedies. A letter of the same date refers to the case of Vergerio, and his summons to Rome to defend himself against accusations respecting the faith.

On the 7th of March was penned a letter, from which we learn the opinion of a great portion of the assembled prelates on a subject which soon began to create agitation. Those prelates were known to promise themselves from the council, at least the free and entire execution of their office in the cure of the souls of their subjects, as a most equitable claim, which appears to consist in these principal points, the collation of benefices with cure, ordination of clerks, preaching and confession, and every thing else included in the cure of

* It is mortifying to recollect, that this bishop enjoys the unenviable distinction of being adduced, in the third part of the Homily on Idolatry, as the single and most notorious asserter of the idolatrous worship of images in the grossest sense. The passage is in his collected works, tom. i., p. 204, fol. Venetiis, 1567. Queen Elizabeth's, or the second book of, Homilies, appeared first in 1563: the Commentaries upon the Epistle to Romans, therefore, where it is found, must have been published before.

souls. There were added, indulgences for the building of St. Peter's, and crusades. It is well known—to interrupt the contents of the letter—to what a height at that time the encroachments of the monastic institutions upon the episcopal province had gradually risen, favoured as they were by the pontiffs from the reign of Gregory VII, whose policy it was to reduce the power of the prelates by establishing a counteracting power, and one entirely dependent upon him, in the very seat of their authority. And at this time the episcopal order felt, and heavily, but with justice, complained of the invasion of their jurisdiction and the privileges of their office by these devoted and willing servants of the pontifical see. The legates proceed to say, that in the court of Rome there are two points of general scandal, and causes of the diminution of its credit, its avarice and its pomp, to remedy which effectually it would be necessary to reform the penitentiary*, the chamberlainship, the rota, and, what would constitute the principal reform, to confer churches on those only who were able and willing to perform their duties personally and not by mercenaries. This, they presume, would content all, and not diminish the authority of the apostolic see.

On the 8th and 9th of March the theologians entered upon the new subject of translating and printing the scripture in the vernacular tongue†.

We have a letter of the latter date, where the legates say, they had communicated to the generals of orders present the will of his holiness and their own intended provisions, generally, that no one should preach in any diocese without licence of the ordinary. As to the danger of agitating the question of the authority of the pope and the council, they see none, unless his holiness should refuse to concur with the council in the project of reformation; for in the council all reverence was demonstrated towards his holiness, as the head

* The reader should watch this department, the origin of the infamous Taxæ which it issued, and of which monuments enough remain to humble Rome, if any thing could humble her, in the dust.

† This is distinctly asserted by Massarelli.

of the body, so that to move the question would be to separate the head from the body. And should even the point be gained of adding the representing clause to the title of the council, it would be necessary to explain in what manner the representation exists, that is, by means of its head and not without; whence would result more gain than loss*. They deprecate the censure of dwelling too long upon the scriptures and tradition, by observing, as before, the difference of opinion upon the subject, not only among the heretics, but (what is worse†) among some of themselves; and the traditions were attacked in such a way as to threaten their annihilation, scripture being represented as the only thing necessary to salvation‡. So that, as being two main principles, or foundations, it could not be imputed to them that too much time was bestowed upon them—they wished to avoid the extremes of precipitation and tardiness. The two meetings above are referred to, but without allusion to the delicate subject of vernacular translation.

The general congregation of the 17th of March, although as drily given as might be expected from a mere summarist, is important for its matter. Four abuses were considered—1. The various editions of the Bible, to which the remedy was, to receive the vulgate only as authentic. 2. The errors of the copies of the vulgate, the remedy, that one should be amended. 3. Private interpretation of scripture, the remedy, that it should not be allowed. 4. Printing without licence of ecclesiastic superiors, the remedy, that *that* should not be allowed. A dispute, we are likewise authoritatively informed, arose between the two cardinals, not legates, Madruccio, bishop of Trent, and Pacecco, bishop of Jaen, on the subject of vernacular versions, when the first took the affirmative,

* —— cioè mediante il suo capo e non senza, onde piu, &c.

† —— ch' è peggio.

‡ This is a protestant, or really catholic, sentiment, attested by unimpeachable authority as delivered in the council of Trent. This principle with its legitimate consequences is all that the heretics, (so called by the real ones,) ever desired, or required.

and the latter the negative side*. It might have been deemed inauspicious, that at Trent, the ordinary and a prince of the place, as well as a cardinal, should advocate the very practice, upon which the difference between the Roman and opponent churches practically turns. But point by point we might almost establish the entire of protestantism by the opinions publicly delivered by eminent Roman catholics at the council of Trent.

The first letter of the 17th relates the confinement and torment of the Cardinal del Monte by a violent fit of the gout both in his feet and hands, with which we duly sympathize; and the second letter of the same date repeats the horror, which the cardinal of Jaen felt, of translations of the scriptures into the vulgar tongue, which had been done even by catholics with much temerity†; and, on the other side, the approbation of the measure by the cardinal of Trent, who thought that if the council prohibited the thing it would generate much scandal, particularly in Germany‡.

We participate even at this time in the offence taken by the sober minded, at the Venetian bishops and abbots taking part in the justs performed in the place; and are arrested by the letter of the 20th only to notice the manner in which the legates report the news of the death of Luther, for which indeed they are not responsible, (for they only repeat,) and which was printed in German with all the circumstances and particulars. The amount is, if the intelligence be true, that, drinking and jesting to the last, he died at 3 o'clock of the morning of the 18th of February§.

* Oritur disputatio inter RR. DD. Cardinales Tridentinum et Giennensem circa sacram scripturam in lingua vernacula imprimendam, Tridentino affirmativam, Giennense negativam, defendentibus. Massarelli.

† —— trovandosi molti Cattolici che hanno interpretato da qualch' anno in quà il testamento vecchio, et il nuovo con poca avertenza, e molta temerita.

‡ —— s' il sacro Concilio prohibisse tal cosa generaria' un grandissimo scandalo, massime in Germania, &c.

§ E' venuta di Germania la morte di Martino Lutero stampata in Tedesco con tutti gl' accidenti, e particulari: la somma è, *quando la nuova sia vera*, che egli bevendo, e burlando fin' all' ultimo morì, &c. The reader will naturally suppose, that it is utterly superfluous to prove, that the death of Luther

We know enough of Vergerio without the information of our legates; and their letter of the 30th contains nothing observable but the suggestion, that provision should be made in Flanders for the absolution of such heretics as were desirous of re-entering into the bosom of the church—so the merciless church of Rome represents the case of those, who have been terrified or conquered by her cruelties to violate their conscience and verbally assent to a superstition which they despised and loathed.

On the 3d of April a general congregation agreed, that no mention should be made of a vernacular translation in the decree for the impending session. This is proof enough, what the Italian church could, or would, bear.

The letter of the 5th contains matter not only curiously personal, but indicative of the spirit, if not of the council, of its governors. The *poor* bishop of Chioggia (his literal poverty it seems made him an object of ridicule) uttered many extravagant things. When, after a long time, it came to his turn to deliver his sentiments on the clause respecting

was not exactly such as is here represented. The account is only valuable, as furnishing the kind of estimate, which those best qualified, Romanists, form of each other's credibility in such circumstances of temptation, and as a specimen of the coolness with which, when off their guard, they express their doubt—*if the news be true!* For the purpose of defaming the Saxon Reformer there is produced in uninterrupted succession, as food in 'hogs of Westphaly,' down to the present generation, a passage, drawn from his Table Talk, representing a particular temptation by which he was assaulted. Jerom is still a saint in the Roman church. In his xxiid epistle ad Eustochium de custodia Virginitatis towards the end of the first paragraph, he thus writes concerning himself. Ille igitur ego, qui ob gehennæ metum tali me carcere ipse damnaveram, scorpionum tantum socius, et ferarum, sæpe choris interesm puellarum. Pallebant ora jejuniis; et mens desideriis æstuabat in frigido corpore; et ante hominem sua jam carne præmortuum, sola libidinum incendia bulliebant, itaque omni auxilio destitutus, ad Jesu jacebam pedes, rigabam lacrymis, crine tergebam, et repugnantem carnem hebdomadarum inedia subjugabam. Non erubesco confiteri infelicitatis meæ miseriam: quin potius plango me non esse, quod fuerim. Tom. i., pp. 48, 49. ed. Colon. 1616. There is not an atom of difference between the case of the ancient saint and that of the Reformer, upon which the low minded bishop of Strasburg and his lower minded followers in the present age have attempted to fix the stigma as *peculiar*.

scripture and tradition, namely, that they should be received *pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia*, and after all had approved, he not only expressed his dissent, but affirmed, that the proposition was impious,—which produced great commotion, and it was threatened, that he should be called upon to give an account of his conduct; so that the poor creature was, in a manner, pointed at with scorn by the assembly*.

The first proper act, of a substantial character, was, the fourth session which was celebrated on the 8th of April. A mass of the Holy Spirit was solemnized, to which succeeded an oration by Augustino Aretino, general of the order of Servites; and then were published the two decrees. The first of these ordains, under the sanction of anathema, that the Scriptures and Tradition are to be received and venerated with equal affection of piety and reverence, and that in the canon of scripture are included intermixed the books generally called apocryphal. The second decree determines, that among the various Latin editions of the bible extant, that which is called the old and vulgate edition should, in public lectures, preaching, and exposition, be received as authentic, no one on any pretext being allowed to reject it. It further decrees, that no one shall dare to interpret scripture against the sense of holy mother church, to which it belongs to judge concerning the true sense and interpretation of scripture, or against the unanimous consent of the fathers. The decree includes different restraints upon printers, under the same sanction of anathema for disobedience.

Nothing was done in the way of reformation at this session.

It will be discovered, that the matter of these decrees was by no means final, and that a considerable quantity of controversy was yet in reserve, and not easily to be disposed of. It will be observed too, that although confessedly, and as all parties agree, the holy Scriptures are the true foundation of all Christian truth, and the arbiter of all theologic disputes, the junction and incorporation of the apo-

* —— il poveretto é quasi mostrato a dito.

cryphal books, however important, if not necessary, to the support of some of the peculiar heresies of the Roman church, perfectly destroyed the quality of the judge, as to integrity—not to add, that this procedure is flatly condemned by the judgment of Jerome, whose Prologus Galeatus is prudently omitted in the Tridentine editions of the vulgate. But it was not enough that the voice of God in his genuine word should be thus diluted and corrupted; what is called tradition, a very different thing from ancient and legitimate tradition, a rule only explicable by those who monopolize it to themselves, and the consent of fathers, who are almost as various in themselves and with one another as the winds, are still further called in aid, to restrain the oracles of God from misleading the world and becoming an instrument of evil.

The bishops at this session were increased to forty-nine.

The account of the session sent by the legates is conformable enough to the preceding statement; but they add some particulars. The session, they write, was conducted orderly and pacifically. Admittance was not refused to some foreign gentlemen, who, it afterwards appeared, were well satisfied. When the decrees were read, all answered, Placent. Monsignor di Chioggia, however, said *obediam forsan*, and there were three bishops who desired the representing clause. The coadjutor of Bergamo did not approve, that traditions should be received *pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia*, but would substitute for the word *pari* that of *summo*. The rest, however, agreed to swallow the affair whole.

Session V.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Original Sin—*Reformation:* Lecturers, Preachers, and Quæstors.

A letter of the 10th of April expresses strongly the regret of some bishops, that residence is rendered difficult if not impossible to them, by the obstruction which they suffer —from the regulars, from the temporal lords, and from the apostolic see. Of all the consequences of this disability they profess most to regret the neglect of the cure of souls. The Spaniards exclaim against the cruciata. The legates, excusing the liberty taken by them from a feeling of duty, yet profess themselves most loving to the court of Rome, and the creatures of his holiness.

The classes, assembled on the 13th of April, examined the abuses of lectures and preaching.

The general congregation of the 15th considered the proposals of the congregation just mentioned; and the rest of the time of the fathers was occupied with the indulgences granted by his holiness to those who visited the church of the holy Trinity during Lent, (now just finished;) and the legates with all the prelates went to the same church where the indulgences were published.

The letter of the 15th of April is of some interest. Alluding to what was done at the last session, the legates observe, that two abuses, respecting lectures and preachers, remained unresolved. Then, looking to the future, they say, that two ways lie before them—either to go forward and receive the ecclesiastic constitutions, and the councils, purging abuses as they may be observed, in order to unite doctrine and reformation; or, presupposing all this portion established and indubitable, to commence the examination of doctrines, as Original Sin. And since neither this, nor the doctrine to follow of Justification, have abuses connected with them, it will be necessary to reform the church,

beginning either from the sacraments, or from the residence of the bishops. If the first method be adopted, these difficulties will ensue. It cannot be denied, that in the councils and traditions there are many things, not only obsolete, but contradictory *. To examine them one by one would be endless. [Besides that it would be necessary to receive many councils, in which many things are contained to our disadvantage †.] To receive one and reject another was impossible. If reference should be made to the authority of the church, *that* would introduce the question so carefully and prudently guarded against, of the relative authority of the pope and the council. The second method consists of two parts. In entering upon doctrines there would be danger lest some of the prelates should be favourable to the new opinions; although, with the assistance of so many theologians, it was hoped, that the resolutions would be framed catholically. Some of the imperialists might be suspected of the partiality mentioned. In entering, secondly, on the reformation of the church, this doubt only occurs, that in discussing the residence of bishops it would be necessary to inquire into the impediments. Such were the difficulties of the presidents; and they beg precise instructions from his holiness: but to venture their own opinion, they say, that they incline to the way of doctrines and reformation, presupposing the ecclesiastic authority, the traditions, and the canons, as firm and indisputable, and availing themselves of them whenever it may be necessary to enter the ocean ‡ of councils, the decretals, and the papal constitutions. This plan, they think, may be carried into effect with more advantage than when their number is increased, particularly by the arrival of the ultramontanes.—This letter was written *before* the congregation.

The next was written on the same day, *after* the congre-

* —— non solo non sono in uso, ma ancora delle contrarietà.

† —— nelli quali si contiene ancora di molte cose in disfavor nostro. The passage within brackets appears only in the latter of the two MS collections. The admission, although liberal, is no more than just.

‡ —— all' entrare nel pelago, &c.

gation, in which, it is observed, might be seen a general consent to treat of the residence of bishops and the impediments. The same subject is pursued in the following epistle of the 20th. There we learn, that the bishops, for the greater part and of every nation, were urgent in their wishes, not only for residence, but for preaching and feeding the people committed to them, according to the duty of their office. Which, whether proceeding from conscience, or, as was insinuated, an artifice to recover their jurisdiction, was so plausible and popular, that they, the writers, could not withhold their approbation and assistance. Residence, however, they proceed, draws after it the removal of the impediments which they had before detailed; and they are of opinion, that the most important improvement would be, to provide assistant parish priests; since the parishes are at present for the most part in the hands of those who seek nothing in them but their incomes, and serve them by substitutes; the consequence of which is, that so long as the benefices are conferred by the apostolic see, as has hitherto been done, no remedy will be applied to this disorder. And yet they think it hard, that the holy see should lose this privilege*.

The letter of the 24th, which is peculiar to the third collection, and is written by the Cardinal della Croce, the first president still being indisposed, is addressed to a new correspondent, Bernadino Maffeo. The legate expresses his concern, that the decrees of the last session had not given satisfaction, either to the deputies†, or the sacred college; and desires to know where the blame attaches, as, in what concerns scripture and traditions, they had gone through fire and water, and endured contradiction which would have done honour to Wittemburg, to attain what they did. It

* —— si fa da molti una conseguenza che fin che si daranno dalla sede apostolica come si son da qualche pontificato in quà non si rimediara mai a questo dissordine, et all' incontro non si puo disegnare di privarne in tutto la detta sede, &c.

† These were, the congregation, or the little governing council, at Rome.

was, it seems, desired that a *corrected* bible should have been promised: but this proposal implied, that 'our bible, 'that is, the bible of the Roman church, was incorrect.' This was too palpable an error to be hazarded in these times of calumny for the church: besides that the course taken by the legates still left free, and without danger, to his holiness the correction of the bible, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. 'We 'will, therefore,' they continue, 'expect from you a fine 'Bible*, corrected and amended for the press; and if here the 'labours of the many able men among us can give any assist-'ance, you shall be welcome to it. And thus, those who ad-'mire, as you do, that the common edition should be pro-'nounced authentic, without any mention of correcting it, 'finding it corrected will feel themselves under perpetual obli-'gation to his holiness; and the council will not have given 'an opinion against the scripture of our church, but on the 'contrary have authenticated and approved it—a thing of 'no small importance.' The writer proceeds to vindicate the edition from the charge of incorrectness, because one book or another may be incorrect, the edition being a species, and the books individuals; not to say, that in the opinion of many the only errors are those of the press; and although delicate ears may be offended with some of the expressions in the Vulgate, its readings are supported by the most antient copies of the originals.

The next letter to the usual correspondent, the most reverend Farnese, of the 26th of April, pursues the same subject, and combats the same objection. This young cardinal and critic is reported as wishing to know, why, in receiving the Vulgate as authentic, no mention was made of correcting it: since it is manifest, that there are errors in it, which can ill be attributed to the press†. The answer is, that, after long disputation upon the subject, many of the learned of the different nations held, that the vulgar edition was that of St. Jerome. Others agreed unanimously, that the edition

* —— bella biblia.

† —— in essa sono degli errori che mal si possono attribuire alla stampa.

used in the Roman church was the most secure, as never having been accused of heresy, although it might appear to vary in some places from the Hebrew and Greek text; and however humble, barbaric, or solecistic its style might be, the originals were corrupted by the Hebrews and heretics; and therefore no course was so secure, as to rest upon that church, which, besides being the head of Christendom, had even, by the special privilege and favour of God, been preserved without spot of heresy, and with a perpetual and uninterrupted succession of pontiffs. Although the incorrections do not touch matters of faith, the synod has not thought proper to adopt the opinion of the deputies, nor to confess, by a public decree, that the edition was *formally* * corrupt; but in this dilemma judged it more expedient to correct the books *tacitly* †, and to issue them with the authority of their lord, and with the approbation of the synod, than to rectify an error at a time when there would be no remedy. It was therefore concluded at the last general congregation, that his holiness should be written to, in the name of the synod, as is now done, to correct with all expedition the last edition, and then the Greek and Hebrew Bibles; and, the same being done here, that the joint labours should produce, with the authority of the pope, and council, a correct Bible which should be published for the perpetual conservation of the faith. The legates give seven reasons for the course which they had taken, among which the most observable are: *that* which represents it as the declaration of their adversaries, that they have separated from the Roman church, not only on account of its bad manners, but likewise its false doctrine, and it would be a confirmation of their statement, if the sacred scriptures, which for centuries she has published, proclaimed, and interpreted, should be acknowledged to be erroneous; nor would it avail to say, that the errors did not affect faith, since from one error might be deduced an infinity; and *that*, the last, which proposes, that in case the errors should be judged important, an amended edition

* —— formalmente. † —— tacitamente.

might be published without scandal or infamy, every error being ascribable either to antient or modern transcribers*.

There is something instructive in all this; and the reader, who is at all acquainted with biblical or papal literature, needs only to be referred to the tardy and inauspicious result of this altercation, which, so much more favourably for Rome than for Trent, was carried into execution by the pontiffs, in this respect not very concordant, Sixtus V and Clement VIII, the latter of whom, after obliterating by pasting over the errors of his predecessor, with little satisfaction or little effect, was induced at length to draw the broad stroke of infallible condemnation over the whole surface of his predecessor's amended bible, and after the lapse of forty-six years from the time of the present history, published to the Roman world an edition of their bible which might be esteemed correct. This pontiff, it is well known, availed himself of the delicate hint, to ascribe all errors to printers; and woe would have been to them, if they told the truth. Thus the 2,000 variations are satisfactorily settled. It is enough to refer to the labours of our able and meritorious, but ill-encouraged, James, on this subject†.

* —— potendosi sempre attribuire all' incorrectione de' librarí o moderni o antichi.

† See Bellum Papale, sive Concordia Discors Sixti Quinti, et Clementis Octavi, circa Hieronymianam editionem, &c. Lond. 1606: likewise an Apology or Defence of the same, in his Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, &c., by the church of Rome, pp. 311—358. Ed. 1688. There is a passage on this subject worth transcribing from the pen of a very competent member of the Roman church. 'It is worthy of observation, that 'although the council here declares' (referring to the decree upon the subject) 'the Latin Vulgate, in general, to be an authentic edition (*i. e.* 'version) of the Scriptures, it fixes upon no one particular copy, as the 'standard to be followed. Hence Sixtus V justly remarks, that the decree 'could be of no avail, unless the genuine readings of that same Vulgate 'were ascertained. This province he took upon himself; and in 1589,' (that is, the date of the prefixed bull,) 'gave an edition, revised, he says, 'with the utmost care, and ultimately corrected by his own hand: which 'edition he, *in the plenitude of apostolic authority*, and in a style and tone 'truly pontifical, declares to be the only genuine authentic Text of the

In a letter of the last day of April is curiously illustrated the method of proceeding in the council, as its managers are concerned, in the undisguised confession, that the legates kept the congregation employed with certain subjects, in the present instance it was abuses, (no matter what,) in order to gain time for receiving an answer from Rome—the pope, and his little council.

Upon Francesco di Toledo, the Spanish ambassador's, proposal to treat of reformation alone, and the answer, that this was contrary to the bull of his holiness, and the order of the council, we have the first direct information, that original sin would be the doctrine to be settled in the next session. This is contained in a letter of the 4th of May, which, in order to reconcile the emperor to the course, adds, that, in the Diet of Ratisbon, this doctrine was considered,

'Vulgate, forbids a single word to be changed in future editions, and de-
'nounces canonical pains and heavenly vengeance against all who shall
'presume to contravene this decree. Yet there soon arose another pontiff,
'equally infallible, who made no sort of account of Sixtus's comminations,
'or his *ever-to-be-valid* constitution. Clement VIII suppressed all the
'copies of his predecessor's edition, and, about three years after, gave one
'of his own, with a great many alterations, and not a few contradictory
'readings. Although neither of these editions has the sanction of any
'council, yet each of them has the sanction of a pope: now which of them,
'pray, must we believe to contain the genuine Text of that Vulgate de-
'clared to be an authentic edition by the Council of Trent? Or, in other
'words, which of the two popes was the more *infallible*? "The latter,"
'it will no doubt be said: but why? merely because he came after the
'other? Then, if the present pope discover, or imagine he has discovered,
'that Clement's edition is also erroneous, and as erroneous as Clement found
'that of Sixtus; and, in consequence, give a new edition, in the plenitude of
'papal power, different from both; which then of the *three* will be the most
'authentic? "That of Pius VI to be sure: and so on to the end of the
'world." Can any thing be more ludicrous?' See letter from the Rev. A. Geddes, LL.D., to the Right Rev. John Douglass, Bp. of Centuriæ, and Vic. Ap. in the London district, pp. 20, 21, Note. This able and indignant letter, *which is not very accessible*, plainly proves, that nothing but *want of power* withholds the *true* and *consistent* functionaries of Romanism from introducing and enforcing in this country all the rigours, not only of the Index Prohibitorius et Expurgatorius, but of the Inquisition itself.—See a Memorial for the Reformation of England, by R.P. [Robert Parsons, edited by Gee, in 1690.] I have an *early* MS of it.

not as controverted, but generally agreed upon, and that the first controverted one was, that of justification. The emperor did not wish to linger upon doctrine, and widen dissension; but to satisfy and unite his subjects, if he could, by reformation of abuses, which were highly oppressive and blazoned their own shame.

On the 7th of May, the legates write, that they continued their labours upon the mode of proposing the doctrine of original sin; and they trust they have discovered a way of facilitating and abbreviating the discussion.

On the 10th of May, a general congregation was held, in which were started great difficulties respecting the preaching of the regulars. A discourse was read against them, and some altercation arose between the cardinals del Monte and of Trent, concerning the answers to the king of Portugal.

In a letter of the 11th of May, the legates insinuate, that the bishops united in the opinion respecting abridging the privileges of the regulars, from self-interest, and without any regard to canons, councils, and papal favour. It appears, that the opinions at the congregation were all written, and very long, and therefore tedious to be examined. The bishops of Fiesole and Chioggia are censured, the first, for certain disrespectful and seditious words, which were punished by dismissal from the council; the other, for similar misconduct, which occasioned his being forbidden to return. The irresolution of the last congregation is imputed to a wish to avoid coming to doctrine, a wish, which, the writers say, will be disappointed, unless their own hands are tied or the answer from Rome lingers; since they are determined to bring on the discussion of the doctrine of original sin.

The 15th of May, in a letter of that date, presents us with nothing very observable, except the repeated assurance of the legates, that they will amuse the council, up to the session, with extended discussions about the punishment of non-residence, and that they will not go forward in

any thing touching reformation, without giving his holiness time to consider and resolve upon the subject.

On the 18th was held a general congregation, in which, with other business of routine, the secretary records, that the cardinal del Monte read some extracts from the address of the bishop of Fiesole, which were schismatical and scandalous, reprehending those who imitated such licentious conduct; and adds, that there was a dispute between the legates and some of the fathers, whether the office of proposing in the congregations belonged to the legates alone; and the first president proved by many arguments and authorities, that although every one was free to speak his mind in the council, yet that the office of proposing belonged to the legates alone.—This appears to be the first formal declaration and assumption of so important, and afterwards so obstinately disputed a right.

On the 19th of May, one of the legates, del Monte, as it is presumed, from speaking of his late indisposition, in a letter to Maffeo, expresses himself with evident soreness on account of the blame cast upon the legates for uniting the subjects of doctrine and reformation. The interested views of the different princes likewise excited his querulity. In fine, he says, if his holiness can suspend the council to a better time, or transfer it from the present place, with the consent of, or without umbrage to, the princes, let him; for it is plain that all are looking to their own private advantage, and wish to make merchandize of the council itself.

A joint letter, however, of the same date, to Farnesè, expresses their satisfaction at one just received from him, as they had uniformly, both in word and deed, made doctrine to take precedence in all their proceedings; and they are happy, that his holiness, with his wonted prudence and magnanimity, had determined to proceed with the work of God in a straight path. This resolution they are ready to second with vigour, although they foresee, that the opposi-

tion of the imperialists in particular will continue to make their meetings tumultuous, protracted and embarrassed. But knowing the mind of his holiness, they are resolved, if necessary, notwithstanding the ill health of one of their body, to have congregations every day, and bring matters to some decision: they will then propose the point of original sin, not being able to pass to that of justification until the first is settled; which, they add, is of more importance than is commonly thought, and was not, as affirmed, admitted as an uncontroverted doctrine at the colloquy of Ratisbon, although the legates are advised to make rhetorical use of that erroneous impression *.

The legates were faithful to their promise respecting the meeting of the congregations: there were general ones on the two successive days, the 20th and 21st. The journalist, Massarelli, states, that on the first of these days was discussed the reading of the scriptures in the monasteries, with some other points. On the second were examined matters concerning the preaching and residence of bishops, parish priests, and regulars; as well as concerning quæstors. On this occasion was first proposed by the legates for the next session the doctrine of original sin, upon which were first adduced the opinions of the theologians *extra concilium*.

The letter which follows close upon these congregations is very much what might be expected. It repeats the information of the proceedings in those assemblies; and declares it to be the intention of the legates to get on with business, although the meeting should detain them until night. They are in pursuit of substantial things, without which the world will think ill of the council and his holiness, and feel obliged to seek its own remedy. They propose to proceed

* The controvertible part of the doctrine of original sin, to which the legates refer, respects the *effect of baptism* as connected with it. But let us read the original. L' avertimento che VS. Reverendissima ci dà di non mostrare debilita in usar quel luogho *rettorico* che il titolo del peccato originale non sia controverso in Germania è venuto a tempo, perche non havendo ancor noi proposto articolo, &c.

in order, and, laying as a positive foundation the doctrine of original sin, to pass on to other doctrines. Delay was requested by the imperial ambassador; but it was replied, that business must proceed, and that the emperor would be benefited by such a course.

The theological congregation met on Monday, the 24th; and three heads of questions on original sin were proposed to them by the presidents—

1. By what arguments did the antient fathers, councils, and the apostolic see, combat the opposers of the doctrine —and let them explain, from what principle original sin is derived, how contracted, to whom communicated.

2. Let them explain the quality of the sin, not by definitions, but by its effects, and what are the principal effects: as likewise what force it has in those who are obnoxious to it, and how it is distinguished from other sins, (meaning actual ones.)

3. Of the remedy—what—from what principle—how—and what it effects in those who receive it. Likewise, whether it be so eradicated, that no vestiges remain, and if any remain, what is their force.

On the morrow they met again, in order to give an opportunity of delivering their sentiments to those who were prevented in the former congregation by want of time.

It will be perceived, by this rather abridged account, that something was about being done, and that, in their own way, the governors of the council were not disposed to be idle.

There was a general congregation on the 28th of May, in which was proposed the same doctrine divided into two parts —1st, the knowledge, the propagation, and the malignity of the evil; 2d, its remedy; and the effects of that remedy —and many authorities of the fathers and councils were read on the subject.

A letter written the same day states, that at the late general congregation it was proposed *absolutely, not conditionally,* to proceed to the doctrine of original sin in the ensuing session; and recognizes generally the acts of the

theological congregations, as just given. The general congregation of the present day, they add, was deferred, in order to give Don Diego, the imperial ambassador, the opportunity of being present; and particularly because there was an indistinct rumour, that the congregation would be a tumultuous one, owing to the anticipated efforts of some to oppose the treating of doctrine, and a kind of irregular meeting of prelates, Spanish, Sicilian, and others, in the house of Don Francesco, which, however, the legates treated as an idle apprehension. There was great opposition to the precedence of doctrine; and while the diet of Ratisbon sat, it was thought best to postpone doctrine, and to enter upon ecclesiastical traditions and their abuses. The legates flatly opposed this proposal, and determined to undertake doctrine; and this decision was acquiesced in without tumult. The cardinal of Jaen, Pacecco, was desirous, that, in the decree on original sin, the Virgin Mary should be excepted, as free; since that was the general opinion of the Christian world: but the legates wished to decline controverted points, especially such as were controverted in their own church *. The votes upon the question were various. Without his holiness's commission the legates would not make themselves responsible, and for that reason forbore to enter into the *quid ditative* definition of original sin. Their conduct was applauded by the majority.

The letters of the legates now forsake us as a guide for an interval, a chasm taking place from the last date throughout the whole month of June to the 17th of July; so that, as far as our manuscripts are concerned, we are thrown upon the meagre assistance of Massarelli in his summary, and the Diario.

The last of these authorities has nothing but what we avoid as much as possible, the mere secularities of the council.

* Onde li legati scrissero à Roma, di dove venne ordine, che si procurasse, e si concordasse le parti, e quanto alla Beatissima Vergine non si pregiudicasse al breve di Sisto IV.—Diario, lib. ii.

The secretary faithfully informs us, that there was a general congregation on the 4th of June, in which were present Don Diego, and Francesco di Toledo, and the different portions of the doctrine under consideration were examined. On the next day was another, in which the same subject was pursued. On the 7th a copy of the decree was sent to the legates. At another general congregation on the next day the decree was read and examined by the presidents. The following day another congregation produced the heresies connected with the doctrine, and the legates decreed to hear the opinions of the theologians. Episcopal residence had likewise a part in the business of the day. On the 10th, the day immediately following, the unfinished discussion of residence was agreed to be postponed. On the evening of the day, however, the theologians met, and a form of the decree was proposed to them, and they gave their opinions. The reformed decree was submitted to a general congregation on the 11th, for examination, when a violent contest arose among the fathers, whether or not the question of the conception of the Blessed Virgin should be decided in this decree; and it was determined, that the article should be left as Sixtus IV had settled it, which decision may be renewed by the council *. In a congregation on the 15th of June was read and examined the decree concerning lectures and preaching; and as a very great altercation arose about the preaching and punishment of the regulars, nothing was concluded, and the subject was referred to the congregation of the next day. That congregation was the last before the session: it was held on the 16th. Here, at length, and after much contention, the two decrees were agreed upon, of original sin, and of lecturers and preachers. The contumacy of the absent prelates was censured, and the day fixed for the session after the next, January the 13th, 1547.

On the 17th of June, 1546, the Fifth Session was celebrated. After mass the oration was delivered by Marco

* ——quæ determinatio a concilio innovetur.

Laurio, a Dominican. The two decrees, which had been prepared and approved, were read, the first on Original Sin, the other on Reformation.

The decree of Original Sin was divided into five sections, each sanctioned by an anathema.

As we do not undertake a complete or regular history of the council, which may be found in various well-composed and accessible works, it will be quite sufficient to notice some of the more prominent or extraordinary features of the decisions which were made at the present session.

It may be proper to observe, now, in the language of the legates, we are come to substantials—the scriptures and tradition being in their view the foundation or rule by which to determine them, and therefore a preliminary—that the entire of the decrees and canons of this and the succeeding parts of the council with which we are now concerned, is transcribed at length in the volume of the secretary, and would accordingly be somewhat of an authority on the occurrence of a doubtful reading.

The first decree, *that* concerning Original Sin, enacts, professes, and declares that—

1. If any man refuse to acknowledge, that Adam, immediately after his transgression, lost his sanctity and incurred the wrath of God, and is fallen under the dominion of the devil, and that the whole Adam, in body and soul, was changed for the worse, (in deterius commutatum fuisse,) let him be anathema.

2. If any man assert, that the sin of Adam injured himself alone, and not his offspring; or that, in consequence of his transgression, temporal punishment only, and not sin, is transmitted, let him be anathema.

3. If any man shall assert, that this transmitted sin has any other remedy than the merit of Christ; or deny, that this merit is applied by baptism rightly administered, according to the form of the church, whether to infants or adults, let him be anathema.

4. If any man shall deny, that the infants of baptized

parents should be baptized; or affirm, that they are baptized for the remission of sins (peccatorum), but not for the contracted sin of Adam, which can only be expiated by the laver of regeneration, for the acquisition of eternal life, making thus the baptism, not a true but a false one, let him be anathema.

5. If any man deny, that the guilt of sin is remitted by the grace of Christ conferred in baptism, or shall even assert, that the total of sin is not removed, but only shorn, (radi*,) or not imputed, let him be anathema.

'This holy council, however, declares, that it is not her 'intention to comprehend in this decree, which treats of 'original sin, the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, 'mother of God; but that the constitutions of pope Sextus 'IV, of happy memory, are to be observed, under the penal-'ties contained in those constitutions, which she renews.'

This is a very remarkable clause, the reason of which will be sufficiently apparent from what has appeared even in the preceding pages. The council was evidently in a strait between two strong and important parties; and its dexterity at least is admirable. It applies the epithet *immaculate* to the Virgin, but not to her conception, and refers, as a confirmation, to constitutions of a pontiff, which do indeed mention the *conception*, but the epithet there found is not immaculate, but *wonderful*. It deserves to be added, that in the first two editions of the canons, decrees and acts of the synod, up to the last session inclusive, printed at Antwerp and Paris in the same year, 1546, this clause is wanting. In the Protestant edition, of the same year, it appears, and for the first time. The first papal edition in which it is extant is, that of Milan, in 1548†, which comprehends the seventh session. That ever such a doctrine as the imma-

* What the precise notion of the fathers was in this figurative expression is rather difficult to determine.

† It was printed on the 1st, the Calends, of March: but the year in the book itself is 1548. How Le Plat in the Preface to his edition came to make it 1547, I cannot tell. The last date in the book is April, 1547, so that the following March must be 1548.

culate conception of the Virgin, mother of the incarnate Word, should have been admitted into any creed professedly Christian, much more, that it should have become the subject of eager contention among professed Christians, can only be accounted for by reverting to the established appointment of a just and holy Providence, that when men have embraced one atrocious and cardinal error, they will be allowed to precipitate themselves into others equal or superior in iniquity without limit; and to the fact, that when the blessed Virgin was deified and exalted to an equality with her divine Son, it became a natural, if not necessary consequence, in order to support and justify this impiety, that the mother should be equally, and in the same respect, immaculate, with her Son. It is an awful instance of judicial infatuation in the subjects of Rome, that they are not instantly appalled by this palpable and blasphemous heresy of their church. May a God of mercy cause this, and all their other delusions to vanish!

The decree of Reformation, now making its first appearance and beginning its progress, consists of two chapters.

The first is concerning reading the scriptures, and ordains, that the scriptures should be read in various churches, in monasteries, and in convents, with different obvious provisions for the due performance of the duty, according to the view, and usage of the Roman church.

The second relates to preaching and the quæstors, requiring that the duty of preaching should be discharged by bishops and parish priests, and those who have the cure of souls; that the regulars shall not preach in their own churches without the approbation of their superiors and the blessing of the bishop, nor in churches not belonging to their order without the licence of the bishop; and if they preach heretically, the bishop, by apostolic authority, and as a delegate of the apostolic see, (*sedis apostolicæ delegatus,*) may proceed against them. But calumny is to be guarded against. Quæstors, called eleemosynary, are not allowed to preach, either themselves or by others; and if they

attempt it, they may be prevented or coerced by the bishops —an unfortunate fraternity, reviled, disowned, and yet cherished by a church, to whom they are frequently profitable, if not necessary. But a demonstration was to be made, while Luther was yet remembered, and Protestants were spectators of the scene. This subject, however, will come before us again.

The council appointed the Thursday after St. James's day, or the 13th of January, 1547, for the next session. This was unanimously approved. On the decree concerning original sin there was the same agreement; but when the conception of the blessed virgin Mary was brought forward, some wished, that it should be expressed and decided that she was not conceived in original sin. A few pressed for the representing clause, which they desired might be added in the title of the second decree. *That* decree was universally approved, except by some, who would have it declared, that in no churches should it be lawful for the regulars to preach without express licence of the bishops. Then was read the breve of his holiness confirmatory of what was decreed under this head of reformation, dated Rome, June the 7th, 1546.

After this the promoter of the council desired to accuse the absent prelates of contumacy; the majority, however, carried, that the German bishops should be excepted during the diet of Ratisbon. He likewise directed the notaries to draw up one or more instruments of all that had passed.

The Te Deum and a blessing finished the whole.

This is the whole amount, abridged but in a few sentences, of what is recorded by Massarelli. He has therefore omitted many particulars in the exceptions which were made by several of the fathers, and which are to be read in other histories. But his statement is precise and valuable.

There were present at this session fifty-nine prelates. The cardinal of Trent was absent upon another errand.

Session VI.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Justification — *Reformation*: Residence: Excesses of Clerics, Secular and Regular.

The author of the Diary, immediately after mentioning the fifth session, relates, that the emperor, being informed how much the protestants were dissatisfied with the decrees which had been passed in the council, wrote to his ambassadors and prelates at Trent to urge by all means an attention to reform, and the postponement of doctrines, which, as they had been established, deterred the protestants from attending the council.

He then states, that the cardinal of Trent had arrived at Rome, and concluded a league with the pope against the protestants of Germany, because, having for a long time persisted in heresy, they refused to submit to a general council; and therefore it was resolved, that they should be compelled to obey by force. For this purpose the pope remitted to his ally 200,000 crowns, upon condition, that his majesty should not make peace with the protestants, and that, if any prince moved arms against Charles, the pope would stand engaged to defend him with both temporal and spiritual arms.—This is the chief pastor of the Catholic church!

The diary proceeds to relate, that his holiness wrote to the Swiss, entreating them to assist, stating the cause of the league, and inviting them to the council.

So much for the vile politics of these crowned conspirators, temporal and spiritual, against the cause of Christ, and against the persons of his most faithful disciples! So much for the councils of blood which *they* were driven to adopt, who were strangers to the councils of peace, religion and reason!

Returning to theological matters, the diarist writes, that on the following day, meaning after that of the session*, the

* Pallavicino, who is bound to quarrel with his predecessor as often as he can, whether with or without reason, affirms, that Fra Paolo is wrong in the

legate del Monte endeavoured to impress upon the meeting the duty of episcopal residence, representing how much evil ensued from their absence from their sees. It was replied, that residence was useless, owing to the exemptions and privileges of the chapters and regulars. There was likewise extended disputation on twenty-five articles of Luther on the subject of justification, importing, that every human act was a sin, but through faith alone remitted by God*.

The particularity of the summary instructs us, that after a general congregation on the 21st of June, which related exclusively to the case of the absent bishops, there were on the next day submitted to the congregation of theologians the following six heads, or interrogatories, on the article of justification.

1. What is justification, as to name and thing; and what is to be understood by the expression, that a man is justified?

2. What are the causes of justification, what does God effect, what is required on the part of man?

3. What is to be understood by a man's being justified by faith?

day for the transactions here recorded, being, as he says, not the 18th but the 21st, viii, ii; although he agrees with the MS which we are following, and is borne out by the representation of Raynaldus, as Courayer on his original, ii, lxxii, has shown. But there is something important in the Italian advocate, which deserves production. On the day, whichever it might be, he represents it as the true fact, that the second legate della Croce observed to the fathers, that 'the head of justification was rendered more 'obscure than that already defined of original sin, since upon the latter the 'antient scholastics had abundantly discoursed, but on the former they were 'very sparing, (parchissimi.) There were, however, very many Catholic 'authors of the last twenty years who in their writings against Luther had 'thrown great light upon it.' After Luther! This would not greatly help; for, after an oily speech of Cardinal Pole, another cardinal, Pacecco, declares, that 'on this subject, not only the antient scholastics, but the antient 'councils, likewise failed to give them support: the Tridentine was the first 'which undertook to do it,' (mancar non solo l'ajuto, &c.) The subject therefore was to be turned over to the theologians, which was accordingly done. Does it not from hence, as well as from other evidence, appear, that, on cardinal points of theology, Rome was to seek for her own doctrine?

* —— volendo, che ogn' atto humano fosse peccato, mà per la sola fede rimesso da Dio. lib. ii.

4. Whether, and how, do works, before or after, operate to justification?

5. What precedes, what accompanies, what follows, justification?

6. By what authorities of scripture, councils, or fathers, or of apostolic traditions, are the decisions to be made supported?

Eight spake upon the subject this day.

On the next, five; on the next but one, seven; on the next, the 26th, five, when three ambassadors of the king of France arrived in Trent; on the 27th, five; on the 28th, and finally, four. Their labours were applauded by the first president. It is added under the same day, that Cardinal Pole went to Veletri * for his health.

On the 30th of June a general congregation had the justification of adults, in three supposed states, proposed to them:—

1. As *first coming to the faith*, where is to be examined the whole progress of justification; how the merits of Christ are applied; what God, what man, does; whether, and how, works operate to justification; what is justification; and how is to be understood a man's being justified by faith; with other points.

2. How, *when justified*, a man can, and ought to, preserve received justification, and labour to advance in it; and how the renewed man may obtain final glory.

3. If a man *fall by sin after justification*, how is he to be restored, that he may be again justified, and the merits of Christ be again applied to him; and in what this justification differs from, and agrees with, the first †.

It is likewise to be examined, what on this subject is found in approved councils and fathers, to which the holy synod can appeal, and of which make use.

The errors arising from the doctrine were then read.

* Tresvillas.

† These three points of inquiry are really given in a very different way by Pallavicino, Ist. viii. ii; and yet it is impossible to believe Massarelli's MS incorrect; at least to so great an extent as it then must be.

We may just observe, from the preceding, the manifest recognition of the doctrine of a two-fold, a first and a second, justification, so lightly adopted, and so ill supported, by the great and acknowledged learning of some speculative protestants.

The fathers had reason enough to inquire into their usual sources of authority on the subject of a doctrine, which, although obviously lying at the foundation of all human hope, was yet, and *that* confessedly, new to themselves and their church. There was among their doctors no clear and uniform statement of what scripture teaches respecting the justification of a sinner in the sight of God, and consequently of his own ultimate and eternal views, either of happiness or of misery, in the state after death.

On the 5th of July commenced three successive days of general congregations, on which the fathers, who are respectively named, delivered their opinions on the doctrine of justification.

On the 8th the French ambassadors were formally received; and one bishop spake on the subject then before the council.

On the 10th, and, Sunday intervening, the 12th, and 13th, and 14th, congregations were held, and opinions heard, to the same effect; and on the 15th, four fathers were deputed to draw up a decree on the doctrine: opinions likewise were heard on the second and third *state* in the inquiry above proposed. A congregation was held on the same points the next day.

Advice was received from Rome, the diarist informs us, that the pope on the 15th of July published a jubilee, and in a bull explained the cause to be, the obstinacy of the protestants; and therefore he had made a league with the emperor. The emperor, dissembling the motive of religion, published a ban against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave, declaring them rebels and traitors, and absolving their subjects from their oath of obedience. The emperor was displeased with the jubilee, and the pope with the ban.

They had each their own ends, the pope to disgust the protestants, and dissolve the council, the emperor to destroy the protestant princes, and to keep the council standing; and therefore he ordered his ambassador at Rome to provide, that Trent should be made secure for the council, and he would force the protestants by arms to attend it. About this time the protestant army approached the Tyrol, in which Trent was situated, and put the more timid of the fathers in alarm, which, however, was dissipated by the arrival of the papal troops.

On the 17th of July at a general congregation the occupations of the fathers were unseasonably, and not very decorously, interrupted by a corporal altercation between two of its most reverend members. At the close of the meeting the bishop of Chiron, approaching the bishop of Cava, told him, that he could not clear himself of great ignorance or great impudence in what he had advanced. Upon which the individual addressed, seizing the beard of the offender with both his hands, extracted some of the hair. It was necessary for the authorities to interfere in such a case of violence and indignity, and the over-hasty prelate was sentenced to incarceration in the monastery of St. Bernadino. He was shortly released, but forbidden to return to the council, and ordered to Rome to obtain absolution from the pontiff*.

At this date we are rejoined by the Legantine epistles, and the first of them is principally occupied with this unfortunate encounter.

On the 19th, 21st, 22d, and 23d, general congregations were employed upon the *two states*, which have appeared in discussion before. On the same day was announced the arrival of the cardinal Farnese: so that the ensuing letters are addressed to other individuals—he was on his way to Germany, but was detained at Rovereto by a fever. The object of his journey was, to join Ottavio Farnese, who had the command of the papal army destined to assist the emperor against the protestants. The cardinal wished to have

* Massarelli.

had the cross carried before him, and to have published indulgences, as legate of the army against the Lutherans: but the emperor would not consent, in consequence of which the cardinal retired to Ratisbon, pretending to be ill, and transmitted an account of the affair to the pope, his grandfather, at Rome*.

Of the date of July 22, is a letter to Cardinal Ardingello, (secretary of state to the pope,) in which the legates, after expressing their hope of hearing the mind of his holiness, and his little council at Rome, respecting the articles on which the council was engaged, the doctrine of justification, and the impediments to episcopal residence, under the head of reformation, observe, that they had lost no time, and spared no labour on the doctrine, which, however, they found so intricate†, that they were obliged to adjourn; although all who had then spoken agreed in essentials‡. Before they had finished the letter the opinions of the theologians at Rome had reached them.

On the 30th of July a scene was exhibited in a general congregation then celebrated, of some peculiarity and importance, which is noticed in the summary in the usual concise manner. 'There arose in this congregation a violent alter-'cation§ among the fathers, but principally between the 'most reverend lords cardinals, del Monte, of Trent, and of 'Jaen, on the question of determining a certain or uncertain 'day for the future session, when, on account of the extreme 'contentions, nothing certain could be settled.'

The next letter of our legates alludes to it thus. It is dated August 1, and addressed to the Camerlengho. They beseech his most reverend lordship to suspend his judgment relative to reports from Trent, until Achille de' Grassi, advocate of the council, his lordship's auditor, and a confidential servant, should explain all to his holiness. They add, that what they thus barely alluded to would furnish a rea-

* See Massarelli and Diario ii. † —— tanto intricato.
‡ —— essentiali. § —— maxima altercatio.

sonable cause, (or pretence,) to his holiness for transferring the council from Trent, which was a place neither free nor secure*.

The letter on the next day but one enters a little more openly into the subject. It is written to the Duke of Piacenza, (Pierluigi Farnese, natural son of his holiness;) and the writer, who is the second legate, acquaints his new correspondent, that he was called away from his son, the cardinal, whom he left recovering, in the neighbourhood, to Trent by a certain tempest† which had taken place, in a congregation, between the three cardinals; of which, however, this advantage may be made, that if his sanctity wish, he may, in all probability, shortly and lawfully transfer the council to another place; a circumstance of much importance both for the present and the future‡.

Another letter on the same day by the same writer to Bernardino Maffeo, is more particular. Assuming the secretary to have been made acquainted with the tempest which had just happened, he proceeds to say, that he had calmed and improved it with such success, that their lord had a better handle than ever for justifiably transferring the council to some other place, without incurring any blame from any Christian prince. Achille was sent with information, which would fill a volume. From him might be understood the beginning, middle, and end of the tempest, and with how much reason the council might be, not *suspended*, which would be inconvenient and invidious, but *transferred* to a more secure place; so that, without loss of time, matters might be settled, which then were interrupted and delayed, particularly as to doctrine, and specially that of justification; the emperor, notwithstanding the exertions of the legates, being unwilling that it should be determined so speedily, which is the true cause of all the insolency exercised in the two last congregations. Allowing the conduct of the

* —— la causa giusta—per poter trasferire il concilio, &c.

† —— certa burasca.

‡ —— presto trasferire legitimamente il concilio in un' altro luogo, &c.

cardinal of Jaen to pass, the gratuitous insult offered to a legate by the cardinal of Trent, patron of the place, from the mere passion to satisfy others, and keep the council fixed where he had invited it, was a more urgent cause of transferring than any other existing, the thing being notorious, and done in the presence of the French ambassadors, and all the synod. But the most unpleasant circumstance was, the stain upon the honour of the cardinal of Trent, as it was necessary that his misconduct should appear as the cause of the translation,—a disgrace, for which there was no other remedy, since the legates could not continue in Trent consistently with their own honour, making a virtue of necessity, and endeavouring to find out other causes of their departure than the true one. In an addition to the HOLY FATHER, he is informed that Monsignor Achille de' Grassi is sent to him to give him intelligence of all particulars.

A letter of the 9th to the Camerlengho is urgent upon his holiness, not to suffer himself to be defrauded, by attention to subtleties, of the opportunity and justification then offered of transferring the council; and, for that purpose, to commence practical and active measures. If that course be resolved upon, it is added, many of the bishops prefer Siena to Lucca, as the seat of the translated council; while others, particularly the French, are rather inclined to Ferrara.

Another letter of the same date to Maffeo, written in the person of one of the legates, continues to press the translation still more urgently, as being absolutely necessary, and to which the emperor cannot object without a blush, having himself created the necessity by rendering the present place insecure. The writers argue, that to leave Trent is not to *dissolve* the council, which may, if necessary, return; and that the reasons for leaving and returning will be widely different. The synod may choose between the three places proposed.—There follows of the date of the next day a letter to Cardinal Farnese to precisely the same effect, referring to the pope's letter to Verallo, and the instructions given to the bishop of Fano for his regulation at the imperial court. But

here is somewhat of a difficulty; for Massarelli on this very day announces the departure of Cardinal Farnese from Trent, where he had been staying about a week, towards Germany, as legate a latere. In whatever way the dissonance is reconciled, it is of inferior importance; but still for the sake of accuracy it should be stated. His holiness was concerting with the emperor more substantial and effective arms against the heretics, than even conciliar anathemas.

In a letter of the 11th to the Camerlengho, the legates complain of the calumnies which they suffered for doing their duty, and wish to be replaced by others, who would be more accommodating to the humour of such as desire to have every thing conducted in their own way. Before they leave the subject, however, they would justify themselves by the testimony of the prelates remaining at the place, and by an examination of those who have quitted it, by which truth will find its own place and guilt its proper author. They say they are unable to detain the Italians, and they are unwilling to be at the discretion of the Ultramontanes. They intend in the mean time to go on amusing the council, until they are made clear of his holiness's mind on the subjects of their present anxiety. In a postscript they complain of the continued departures of the Italians, which would in time produce an actual dissolution of the council, and that the whole blame was thrown upon *them*.

The letter of the 12th to the same is remarkable for nothing but for that constantly repeated acknowledgment, that, waiting for the mind of their lord at Rome, they went on, until it came, entertaining the council with fictitious employment*.

At a general congregation of the 14th, the first president excused the long intermission of these meetings, of which the visit and sickness of Farnese was the cause; and exhorted the fathers not to depart from Trent from apprehension on account of the war. On the proper subject of the assembly nothing was done, some of the members not having

* —— fino al quale aviso ci andaremo trattenendo.

had time to consider it, and others disliking the decree as then prepared.

The next letter of the legates to the same person as the preceding one, dated the 14th of August, refers to the congregation just mentioned, which, they say, passed quietly. In consequence of the hostilities in Germany, processions and fasts, and other good works, to propitiate the Deity, were instituted. And the report having reached them, that indulgences of confessionals were published at Rome on this account, and sent to various places, while none came to Trent, every one marvelled, and was grieved. But, at all events, the council could not continue there any longer, without danger of dissolution, and other inconveniences.

Another letter to the same on the 16th entreats, that his holiness would send them successors, as they cannot, with honour to him, or the apostolic see, nor with a quiet conscience, prolong their residence in a place which they were sensible was not free.

On the 17th another congregation was held, in which the decree on Justification was universally disapproved, and a reformed, or new one, was declared necessary. It was decreed in this meeting, that a fast should be observed by the whole city for the success of the war against the heretics.

A letter of the 17th, after observing, that the Bishop of Cava's place, as commissary, had been supplied, casts all the blame of the opposition to the decree of Justification upon the wish of the imperial prelates to prolong the discussion.

From the summary we learn that on the morning of the 19th, a procession was made from the church of the Trinity to that of the Blessed Maria Maggiore, where a solemn mass was celebrated, a sermon delivered, and a plenary indulgence published.

The eight following letters in the collection before us, from the 20th to the 26th of August, inclusive, contain nothing which deserves separate notice. They are strongly expressive of the perplexity in which the legates found

themselves. They and the whole company began to feel the effects of the unholy league, into which their sovereign and the imperial one had entered, for the subjection and destruction of protestantism; and probably all the parties flattered themselves, that it would be a matter, not of contest but of certainty. In this they were disappointed; and the legates complain, that it was idle to talk of the distance of the war, when they saw troops passing and repassing. The bishops were naturally terrified. Instead of being able to retain them in their place until October, which was suggested, it was doubtful whether they could be kept there more than eight or ten days. Themselves were sons of obedience, said the legates, and only waited the *clear* commands of their master: but they were men, and wished for an early intimation of their fate, or that successors might be appointed them; instead of being coolly forbidden to innovate. One letter is about a reformed decree of Justification sent to the theologians; and the two last, one of them to Cardinal Pole, are about the very necessary subject of pecuniary remittances.

On the 28th of August was a general congregation, in which was examined the article of the Certainty of Grace, or whether the Lutheran assertion respecting it should be condemned; and the latter was determined upon.

A letter of the same date to the Camerlengho reports the discussion to the same effect; and adds, that some represented the doctors of the Roman church as disagreeing upon the subject. The greater part, it is said, desired, that the decree should be conceived in such terms as to condemn the heretical view, and at the same time abstain from deciding the controversy between the scholastic doctors—a thing, which, although difficult, the legates attempted.

There was a procession on the 8th, and litanies on the 11th, for the success of the war against the Lutherans.

On the 10th the legates wrote that they kept labouring at the article of Justification: but add, still harping upon the one great question to them, that if the council is to continue

where it was till October, they must beg to represent themselves as incapable, (*inhabili,*) partly from indisposition and partly from remorse of conscience. On the 20th they affirm, that they had put the last hand to the article; still urging translation of the council.

On the 23d was a congregation, in which the secretary gives no other particulars than are noticed in the letter of the same date, where we are informed, that the new decree was read with universal approbation, and was to be sent to the theologians for the form; on which form they request the opinion from Rome. On the 26th we learn, that the decree was polished by the theologians, so as to be fit for the session.

After this date was a succession of general congregations, where the bishops delivered their opinions, as the time would allow. They had not finished until the 12th of October.

The legates are a little more communicative; and in a letter of the 2d of October, describing the congregation of the 1st, they say, that three bishops delivered their opinion. The first, from notes, objected to the immediate publication of the decree, on account of the little authority of the council and paucity of the prelates then present, urging likewise the representing clause. Another impressed upon the congregation the importance of the subject, in which every word and syllable should be weighed; and insisted, that if the decree were passed, there would be no hope of reducing the protestants; and often urged the words in the proemium of the decree, that *nothing more disturbs the church than depravity of manners,* (nihil magis perturbet ecclesiam quam depravatio morum.) The third said nothing of consequence. The legates add, that they allow perfect liberty of speech, in order that people may discover their mind, and sometimes cut their own throat *, as well as to afford a pretence for translation. They wait to hear the rest.

We have accordingly, in the next letter of the 6th to the same person, the Camerlengho, an account of two days'

* —— per scoprire tutti li disegni —— et ancora perche vediamo darsi della zappa nel piede da se medesimi, &c.

congregations, the 5th and the 6th. The Spanish bishops, we are told, and some others, besides objections and cavils readily arising out of an extended subject, expressed their approbation of the opinion of Vigerio, bishop of Sinigaglia, as before reported, and which was premeditated and divided into three points, recommending, 1st, the representing clause, because so important a decree required all the authority which could be given to it; 2d, the delay of the promulgation of the decree, because with that promulgation would perish all hope of reducing the Lutherans; and 3rd, reformation, since abuses were the constant pretext of heresy, and most scandalized the world. This last charge, to which a reply was made by one bishop who sat among the Spaniards, was sorely aggravated by another of that nation, who added to it the fresh ones of the avarice and ambition of the church—points which required the principal attention of the council. He was supported by three others who had to speak; and never since the commencement of the council was such an instance seen of servile and undisguised conformity*. These three points are answered,—the 1st by observing, that the majority of votes was with them: the 2d, by saying, that the time of promulgating the decree might be considered. But the 3d point was *that* with which they professed to find the greatest difficulty. And yet it was necessary to rebut the invidious charges of avarice and ambition. They do it partly by recriminating upon the secular princes, whose interested motives in the collation of benefices were notorious. And yet they were fearful of offending parties, and producing disturbance. They press an early reply from Rome; and close the important part of a long letter with the following observable statement and request. 'Your most reverend lordship perceives, that now 'the council is treating *de summa rerum;* and there are pre-

* —— ne dal giorno dell' aperitione del Concilio in quà sono stati mai tutti così conformi, e così alla scoperta. It would do the panegyrists of the council good to see how the members, when they speak freely, speak of one another.

'lates here who would humble the apostolic see. We, there-
'fore, with all reverence, suggest, that there should be sent
'hither as many bishops as possible, especially such as have
'reverence for the apostolic see, and are learned; because
'they will be serviceable both as to the matter under present
'consideration, and for any other which may arise. Nor let
'there be any regard to expense here; since seasonable ex-
'pense is a gain*.'

On the 9th to the Camerlengho, who in the absence of Farnese in Germany is their uniform correspondent, the legates charge the imperial prelates with putting forward, as a pawn, the bishop of Sinigaglia, on the unpleasant subject of the last letter, in order that they may represent it as originating with an Italian, and disclaim it as a concerted affair of their own, although it be a palpable conspiracy.

A general congregation on the 12th of October entered on a new subject, connected with the main one, imputative righteousness, and the certainty of grace. These articles, it was recommended, should be well examined, both by the fathers and the theologians, in order that thence the truth might be more clearly established, and an end put to the many controversies, which on different points of these articles prevailed, not only among the heretics but among the catholics†. This resolution was approved by the fathers.

The letter of the next day, confirming this representation of the secretary, observes, that the congregation, in putting the last hand to the decree in preparation, found two difficulties arise in their way. The legates give the two articles in more words, and in Latin. The first, they say, was of

* Vede VS. Reverendissima che hora si tratta in concilio de summa rerum, e ci sono de' prelati che vorrebbero abassare la sede apostolica. Ricordiamo con ogni riverenza che si mandi quanto piu Vescovi si puo, massimamente riverenti verso la sede apostolica, e dotti, perche saranno utili á quello che si tratta al presente, et ad ogn' altra cosa che si volesse fare: ne in cio si guardi a spesa, perche lo spendere in tempo e guadagno.

† It is instructive to read these repeated admissions of variation of opinion, on important subjects, in the church of exclusive unity.

the certainty of grace for the present state, (pro presenti statu;) the second, how far the justified ought to rest upon inherent righteousness, whether by that they can be judged righteous before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, or, as imperfect, it requires to be supplied by the righteousness of the same our Lord Jesus Christ to be communicated and applied to them. It is of great importance, they say, to settle these questions, and to state the decision clearly in the decree, in order to terminate the dissensions among catholics themselves. The questions therefore were given to the theologians this day.

The theological congregations began their meetings accordingly, and the foregoing questions, with other allied ones, were discussed by them. They met nine days together, Sundays excepted. On the tenth, October 26, they terminated. It is not of adequate importance to repeat the respective votes on the subject. The unity was far from complete.

On the 27th, Cardinal Pole, who had been detained from the council by ill health, formally resigned his legation; and from henceforth there were only two legates.

A letter of the 30th of October reports the minute discussion of the two articles by the theologians; and it observes, that parties were divided between those who sought despatch, and those who sought delay. They trusted to get the decree settled and concluded upon, and forty out of sixty voted with them.

The preparation of the decree of justification kept proceeding; and on the 6th of November we have a letter, which, while it represents the politics of the two rival sovereigns on the subject, strongly represents the value which the legates put upon the privilege which they had assumed, and hitherto without contradiction, of *proposing* the subjects to be discussed in the congregations. Upon the question of suspension, they affirm, that they have the majority, that is the Italian prelates, on their side; and wish to know from his holiness whether they should *propose* it, since the *pro-*

posal from any bishop would not be allowed, 'we,' they add, 'having, in an especial manner, always kept this rod of 'office firm in our hands, to let no one invade our office of 'proposing. We do not therefore think, that the affair can 'succeed, except we ourselves, with a flag on the mast, ac-'cording to the proverb, propose it*.'

In a letter of the 8th the legates testify the progress of the decree; and in one of the 10th, they detail certain sentiments delivered by Pacecco, cardinal of Jaen, who was not a regular attendant, one of which, and the cause of some disturbance, was, the suggestion of his sovereign, Charles, that the opinions of the universities of Paris and Louvain should be requested. This was deemed quite unreasonable after so long protracted debates upon the subject, and when the Italians were threatening to leave; nor very honourable to the council. The indignation at sending to the universities before-mentioned, overflows into the next letter; although it says, the proposal appeared to some as if it were excellent, and reasonable, and expedient, and necessary.

The next is a remarkable epistle of the date of the 16th of November, to the Pontiff by his grandson, Cardinal Farnese, who, on his return from Germany, was staying at Trent. On coming to Trent the cardinal says, that he was desirous of understanding the affairs of the council, and for that purpose assembled the two legates, with the Cardinal of Trent and Don Diego. At one of his conferences with these illustrious individuals, except one, after having urged the present superlative importance to Christianity of a good understanding between his holiness and the emperor, he proposed three things, which they should resolve upon that day, when their whole number met—1. That as the decree was now nearly in a state of readiness, it should be considered whether it were expedient to publish it in company with the decree of residence, or to wait until it might be seen whether the proposal of consulting the uni-

* —— havendo massimamente noi tenuta ferma sempre questa bochetta in mano di non volere che altri faccia l' officio nostro di proporre.

versities would succeed—2. Whether, if the decree of justification were deferred, that of residence should be proposed, or his holiness by a bull grant all reasonable authority to the bishops—3. What course the council would have to pursue, if, in deference to his majesty, the translation should be laid aside. Should the decree of justification be published, there will be these difficulties, that the council being principally called on account of the heresies of Germany *, and none of that province, catholics or Lutherans, being present at the discussion of that important article, it cannot be expected that the healing effects which were anticipated will be realized, but rather the contrary, since the coercive measures of war have been adopted. On the other hand, to omit the publication of the decree would be to encounter the ridicule of having been half a year employed in a discussion, of which there was no practical result, as well as the injury to the many souls in Italy, France, Spain, and other countries, which would be consoled by the publication of a decree, securing them from the hazard of receiving false doctrines instead of good, from their preachers and confessors. This dignified company of five therefore agreed that it would be a less evil to settle the decree and decline its immediate publication, since they were able to provide against the inconveniences which were apprehended. And as to being responsible for the souls which may die in heresy, a remedy may be found in the personal exertions of bishops and generals of orders in the infected portions of Germany, and of theologians in other parts, by teaching the true doctrine. On residence the same course is recommended as was before suggested; and in the case of abandoning the translation of the council a suspension is proposed, and *that* for the term of six months, rather than an indefinite one.

In a letter, the next, of the 17th, to the Camerlengho, assurance is repeated, that the decree of justification is in active progress, the emperor's consent alone being waited

* It was afterwards convenient to say the same thing of France.

for to the proposal of the six months' suspension. The writers, however, venture to intimate an obstacle in his holiness's manifested wish, that the decree should forthwith be published, and the council make its course to a speedy close: one great reason being, that his holiness's treasury could not support, at the same time, the demands both of the war and of the council.

The next letter is occupied with the proposed six months' suspension; and it is suggested, that the term may be repeated as often as is desirable. And this, which appears to be the absorbing subject at the present, with all the crooked politics connected with such transactions, continues to be subject of the following, in which the legates seem apprehensive, naturally enough, that they may be suspected, under the name of suspension, of seeking, not only the removal, but the total extinction, of the council.

On the same subject, a letter of the 23rd acquaints us, that the legates could number a majority of votes in their favour: but, it is confessed, they were all of one nation, (Italian,) while the opponents were all the Spaniards, the French, a Portuguese, a Scot, a Goth, Sicilians, Sardinians *, and some Italians.

A letter of the 27th announces, that the decree of justification is still advancing; but that some new comers yet remain to be heard.

On the 1st of December the legates write, that they had heard of the emperor's appointment of January the 2d next for the diet of Nuremburg, but that the intelligence was uncertain. But they add, that at the date of their letter all speaking on the decree of justification had terminated.

This appears to have been the case, from what we find in Massarelli: for, on that day, he affirms the same thing, and adds, that there was likewise, and subsequently, but on the same day, appointed a deputation of four to collect the censures of the fathers, which they divided into three classes,

* Sardi.

the light, the grave, and the gravest *. These deputies met on the next day, and decided, that the graver censures should be submitted to all the fathers.

The epistolary document discovers, that Cardinal Farnese had left Trent, by a letter addressed to him as usual on the 3d of December; and he continues the correspondent of the legates to the end of our collection. This letter recognizes a general congregation † of the same day, in which were read nine annotations on the decree of justification; but it is intended to ascertain the mind of the synod on the 8th by *placet* or *non placet*, without discussion, as the matters had already been fully discussed. Minor annotations, however, were added. Three of the imperial prelates, it is said, determined to oppose the suspension, although the emperor should agree to it.

The congregations were still at work: but the details are so easily and certainly anticipated, and reported in so meagre a way by the secretary, that it is not of adequate importance to repeat them.

The legates on the 11th of December write, that they had been sedulously employed with the deputies in this work, and hoped to conclude in a few days.

On the 13th was a congregation of deputies, in which the grave censures on the subject before them were discussed, and the opinions were not unanimous. It was proposed, whether, in justification, fear precede hope; and after long disputation the affirmative was concluded: likewise, whether detestation of sin precede hope, as predisposing to justification, since it cannot be destitute of hope, and some delight in the object, if hope follow. Other questions of the same intricate and unessential character were the subject of several future discussions, which now became frequent. On the 15th, however, the canons came under examination. This we likewise learn from a letter of the day. They were re-examined on the next day. And on

* Leves, graves et gravissimas.

† The congregation appears in Massarelli.

the 17th, the day after, there was a general congregation of theologians, who disputed very diffusely on the reasons, why Paul affirms, that a man is justified by faith, when many other things are required in justification. But as the fathers differed, nothing was concluded, and the question was referred to the congregation of the next day. On the same day, however, there was a general congregation, in which was started the question, whether any thing should be decided on the certainty of grace; but it was determined that at present the Lutheran heresy alone should be condemned. But on this, and the main question, the fathers were so discordant and opiniative, that it was judged they could not condemn their opponents without great scandal.

On the 18th, (falsely written 19th,) was a congregation of theologians, who disputed at great length, in endeavouring to find a perpetual consent of the catholic church in the interpretation of those words of Paul, We believe that a man is justified by faith, &c. since the fathers disagreed: it was concluded to select words applicable to all (kind of) justification to be inserted in the 8th chapter of the decree *.

The next day, the 19th, and Sunday, was written a letter, in which the legates inform their correspondent, that on the 17th they had proposed in the congregation the doctrine of the certainty of grace, and they obtained by two-thirds of the votes, that only the heretics should be condemned, and the difference of the catholics on that head be allowed to stand over, in order that the decree of justification might be published as soon as possible †. On the morrow it was in-

* Sabbati 19 [18] Dbris. Hora 16 fit congregatio prelatorum Theologorum, qui defuisse [diffuse] disputarunt in inveniendo perpetuo consensu Catholicæ ecclesiæ in interpretandis illis verbis Pauli, arbitramur, &c. quoniam patres varii erant: tandem conclusum est, ut inveniantur verba [et] ponantur in octavo capite decreti, quæ verba ad omnem justificationem referri possint, &c.

† ——e la differenza ch' è fra Cattolici in questo capo si lasciasse stare per adesso accioche il decreto della giustificatione si possa tanto più presto publicare, &c.

tended to propose residence, and the appointment of the 13th of January next for the next session.

This, it appears from the summary, was done; and at a date of the same day is extant a letter of considerable length, and some importance. The purport of the letter is, that the cardinals of Trent and of Jaen had represented to the legates from the emperor, their master, his desire, that the publication of the decree of justification should be deferred, from a consideration of the state of affairs in Germany, and his opinion, that it would be desirable to call in the aid of some able men of the universities of Paris and Louvain, as it did not seem good to send the decree to those universities: and this, the cardinals said, because there had already been printed in Germany one of the draughts of the decree, from which it appeared, that there were many things in it which did not please *, and which ought to be better considered. Respecting residence, they represented his majesty as desiring, that his Beatitude would satisfy the reasonable expectations of the bishops, particularly of his empire. Against the proposed suspension, their sovereign had the same objection as against the translation, of the synod; especially as he had hopes of reducing the whole of Germany to submit to the determination of the council, which suspension would convert into a mockery. The legates answered, that they considered the three points as inseparable, and that it was not possible therefore to defer the publication of the decree of justification, without break-

* This probably refers to the professed publication of that decree in a very scarce book and in the same year.—Acta Concil. Trid. anno MDXLVI. celebrati: unà cum annotationibus piis. &c. Item, ratio, &c. per Philippum Melanchthonem, MDXLVI. The latter work alone is Melanchthon's. To whom the annotations and publication are to be ascribed Schelhorn is ignorant, and I cannot discover. The *true* decree it cannot be, because the session which passed it did not sit till next year. It is probably one of the first draughts, of which copies were sent to the theologians, and which being disapproved, another was adopted, which appears in all the editions as the decree of the council: but the other was not properly false. A copy by some means got into the hands of the reformers. The annotations are very severe.

ing up the council, with disgrace to his holiness, his majesty, and themselves, together with the irreparable injury of souls, which were daily falling into the nets of heresy; that regard was to be had, not only to Germany, totally apostate, but to the neighbouring nations, Italy, France, Spain, and all the rest of Christendom; that the necessity of speedy publication was the more urgent, from the information of their lordships, that a *false* decree was published in Germany, which rendered more indispensable the publication of the *true;* and that it was superfluous to send to the universities for divines, when they had the whole college together at Trent, and councils derive their authority, not from the men assembled in them, but from God and the apostolic see. On the article of residence the legates decline any present answer. The rest of the letter is very verbose, and not very intelligible, but the non-importance of it is intelligible enough: it terminates with the earnest hope, that the council will speedily come to a total end *. Pacecco suggested, that the day of session should not be absolutely settled, until the remaining points of the decree of justification, and the appendices of that of residence, were digested.

The acts of the theological congregations sufficiently display the embarrassment of the doctors of Rome in ascertaining the doctrine of their own church upon what must at least be esteemed a cardinal article of Christianity; and how much that embarrassment was occasioned and aggravated by the rules which they found it necessary to prescribe to themselves in conducting the inquiry. Scanty and perfunctory as are the notices of the secretary, we learn from him, that in four successive and not very distant meetings of the divines, the first of them, on the 21st of December, exhibits these oracles of catholic theology as labouring in finding out a perpetual consent of the church in the interpretation of the words of Paul, who appears† to attribute so much to faith in

* —— al total fine. We are almost reminded of the 'total of the whole' of one of our senators by this expression.

† —— videtur.

justification; and they all agreed and approved, that we are said to be justified by faith, because faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification*; for without faith it is impossible to please God, or to be taken into the number of his children. They laboured after the same consent of the fathers, the next day, on the expression, that we are justified freely without works†; and they all agreed, that the term 'freely' signifies, that no works preceding justification deserve the grace itself of justification. On the next day, the 23d, there was a long contest whether the glory of Christ, and eternal life, were the final cause, (or object,) of justification: the affirmative was agreed to, prefixing 'of God.' The fathers likewise strongly disputed, whether faith had any place as a cause of justification. On this point they could not agree; and therefore adjourned the debate. That was resumed on the 28th, when, after diffuse disputation, it was agreed, that faith is not to be esteemed a cause, and that enough is ascribed to it in various parts of the decree.

On the 29th of December was a general congregation, in which the day of the future session was finally and absolutely fixed for the day originally suggested, the 13th of January, 1547. There was some difference of opinion upon the subject.

The next letter of the same day repeats this resolution of the congregation, which pleased two-thirds of the assembled fathers. On the subject of residence, it would be better, say the legates, that his holiness by a bull should declare, that with certain favours he invited the bishops to residence, than to allow a decree to be made at Trent, particularly if the bull contained what they most desired, to abolish the exemptions of the chapters. If the bull should not come in time, they must dispute about impediments and provisions, not to appear to be trifling with the synod‡: if it arrive, they will

* —— quia fides est humanæ salutis initium, fundamentum, ac radix omnis justificationis, &c.

† —— gratis sine operibus.

‡ —— anzi fino a tanto che la bolla non viene semo forzati a disputare qui l' impedimenti, e le provisioni per non parere di dar parole al sinodo, &c.

adopt it, and doubt not, that it will be generally acceptable; but if, after sufficient allowance of time, they are still without it, they would make a decree within the bounds of their commission. The occupation of continued congregations, to complete the decree of justification, did not allow them leisure for writing, but they hoped to do so shortly. They add a postscript, in which they say, that the chief objectors to the time fixed for the next session were the Spaniards; but the bishop of Worcester was one, at which they wonder, as they had always found him attentive to what he knew to be the mind of his holiness and ourselves*.

A theological congregation was held on the last day of the year, in which parts of the decree of Justification were examined and approved. It was likewise concluded, that the assertion of St. James, that a man is justified by works and not by faith only, speaks only of the second justification, that is, of works done after justification†. On the question, whether resolutions are to be included in the good works, by which justification is furthered, it was determined, that they are not comprehended under the name of good works‡.

The letter of the same day refers to a general congregation of the 30th, (which was not noticed as it stands in the summary, because it contains merely undecided questions relative to the punishment of non-residence.) The letter charges the opponents of the determination of the day of the next session, with indulging themselves in various exaggerations on the fruitful matter of reformation. The legates themselves were quite overwhelmed with necessary business and incapable of any thing else. But they wished to have a bull of reformation with a proemium to animate to residence, and with it a breve, either to give them authority to consent to determinations which they approved, or to instruct them

* —— osservante di quel che ha conosciuto mente, &c. This was Richard Pates. There is an account of him in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ii. last edition.

† —— de secunda justificatione, hoc est de operibus quæ fiunt post justificationem.

‡ —— consilia —— augetur.

particularly respecting the complaints made by the bishops of impediments proceeding from the court of Rome. More particular suggestions are added respecting the form of the breve. A postscript to the *Beatissimo Padre* himself conveys a pressing appeal to the generosity of his holiness in behalf of the cardinal of Trent, in consideration of the expense of the council to him, and the importance of that assembly to the interests of the faith and all Christendom; and suggests that 10,000 crowns will not be regarded as more than an adequate remuneration.

Here, with regret, we part with the services of the volume of letters, from which we have drawn so liberally and beneficially.

We are, for the present, and for original matter, reduced to one assistant, the minute, and, it appears, accurate secretary.

He commences the 1st day of the new year, with an account of a congregation of theological prelates, who, as the time to the session was contracting apace, spared neither time nor labour in prosecuting their work. They accordingly examined four chapters of the decree of Justification, with the censures of the general congregation, particularly *that*, whether it be simply true, that faith is lost by unbelief, since blessed Peter, who denied the faith with an oath, yet lost not his faith. It was nevertheless concluded, that it was lost. On the same day, *that* of the future session was published, as before stated, in a form which is subjoined.

On the 2d of January, a theological congregation examined some clauses in the 16th, the last, chapter of the doctrinal decree.

On the two succeeding days general congregations considered the reformation article of residence.

On the 5th, the theologians concluded, upon the doctrinal article, the clauses in the last chapter; and considered the censures of the canons, ten of which were approved.

They settled fifteen more the next day: the following one gave them some difficulty.

On the next day, however, the 7th of January, they completed the canons to their mind. The general congregation on the same day exerted themselves on the subject of residence.

On the 8th of the month the divines repeated their labours on the certainty of grace; and the general congregation employed itself in its province of residence.

On the 9th, Sunday, the theologians settled, that no one can be certain with such a certainty of faith, as that nothing false can be found in it, of the grace of God. The occupation of the other congregation on residence was not quite so consonant to the sanctity of the day.

On Monday the 10th, the same congregation pursued the same subject; and on the next day it was assisted by a congregation of canonists—at a later hour the decree of Justification was approved by all to the glory of God. So our author expresses himself.

On the 12th of January, it was proposed to the theologians, whether, in the 6th chapter of the doctrinal decree, *fear* should precede *hope;* and after long debate it was agreed, that it should so stand. In a general congregation of the same day the opinions on residence were various; but in the approbation of the decree of Justification they were unanimous. The next day was the day of the Sixth Session.

The Sixth Session was celebrated on the 13th of January, 1547, in the cathedral as usual. After the accustomed service and an oration by the bishop of Salpi, the decrees were published.

The first, and the doctrinal one, was of Justification.

It contained sixteen chapters. The doctrine is stated in this detail in strict conformity with the intimations which have appeared in the preparatory congregations, and with a considerable degree of subtlety and plausibility, yet distinctly enough expressing the qualifications and exceptions, by which the doctrine of scripture is defeated, and *that* of the church of Rome supported. As containing the essence of this decree,

and applying it to the important purpose of condemning presumed errors on the subject thirty-three canons are subjoined, each with an annexed anathema of course. The ninth and the two last are perhaps the most noticeable, the last but one in particular, which runs thus :—'If any one shall say, that the 'good works of a justified man are so the gifts of God, that 'they are not likewise the good merits of the justified man; 'or that *that* justified man by the good works which are done 'by him through the grace of God and the merit of Jesus 'Christ, of whom he is a living member, does not truly deserve 'increase of grace and eternal life, and the attainment of 'that eternal life, if indeed he depart in a state of grace, and 'even an increase of glory,—let him be anathema*.'

The last canon binds under its curse all who affirm that the doctrine, as stated, derogates in any degree from the glory of God, and the merits of Christ, or that the truth is not by the decree clearly explained to the divine glory.

This decree, the secretary adds, was unanimously approved by all—his own pleonasm—and then was recited the reformation decree of residence.

This decree consists of five chapters. It acknowledges the depraved morals of both clergy and laity, and exhorts the principal orders of the church to attend to the sacred duties of their office, enforcing residence by a renewal of

* There is something strange in the beginning of this canon: si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam *bona* ipsius justificati *merita*, &c.: is *opera* to be understood after *bona*? and what are good merits? And what is the difference at the end between vitam æternam and the vitæ æternæ consecutionem? We may just observe, that possibly the fathers of the council would have been more yielding on the subject of human merits, had not the whole credit of the papal bank of indulgences been endangered by any concession on that point. For, unless the treasury be supplied, the reservoir replenished, by the constant influx of the merits of the saints, great reason would there be to fear, from the unintermitted demands made upon it, that it would, in time at least, be exhausted, and all the spiritual benefits to the faithful, as well as the more substantial returns to the apostolic chest, be lost. Lutherana hæresis multa nobis ornamenta et commoda concussit et labefactavit, hoc vero quod ex indulgentiis capiebamus, prorsus disjecit, et sustulit. Actiones Duæ, &c. (a P. P. Vergerio) 1559, fol. 71, verso.

the canons, and denouncing in the different gradations of non-residence the forfeiture of portions of the revenue of the see, and in extreme cases removal and substitution of another. It enjoins the duty of residence next upon the inferior orders in the church, who are to be constrained to the performance of it by the law, except in cases of dispensation for reasonable causes by the holy see. Ecclesiastical superiors are to correct their subjects; and both the secular clergy and the regulars, when living out of their monasteries, may be punished by the bishop of the place, as delegate of the holy see. The exemption of chapters from the jurisdiction of their ordinary is withdrawn. And, finally, no one bishop is to intrude upon the functions of another.

Upon this decree Massarelli observes, that the opinions of the fathers were various, and many exhibited written papers; so that nothing certain could at that time be determined. In a general congregation, however, on the 25th of February, as it appeared, on examination, that the decree was approved by the majority, it was pronounced to be approved and to be held as approved The contumacy of the absent bishops was accused, with an exception in favour of the German bishops lawfully detained; and the severest penalties were denounced against those who should leave the council without licence.

The 3rd of March was appointed for the next session.

Fifty-seven prelates were present.

The protestants, writes the author of the Diary, in exact agreement with the Venetian history, by whatever hypothesis their agreement, as far as it exists, is to be accounted for, excepted against the grammar in the 5th chapter of the first decree, where, in the language in which the decree is written, Latin, two negatives are used to the effect of one. Another inaccuracy is stated in the 7th chapter. Some who were conversant in history, observed, that from the time of Christ to the present, no council had decided so many articles as were decided in that one session; and that the fathers in their definitions were greatly indebted to

Aristotle, for having so diligently distinguished all kinds of causes. Politicians complained, that, in the 11th chapter and the 20th canon, while obedience was enjoined to the precepts of God and the church, *that* due to temporal princes was pretermitted. The decree of Reformation was treated as a simple illusion; since any beneficed cleric with cure of souls might purchase non-residence for a year by consenting to lose half his yearly income, and reasonable causes for dispensation might easily be fabricated. The author adds, that the celebrated opponents, Soto and Caterino, both published books, addressed to the synod, explanatory of the doubtful expression in the decrees, yet without deposing any portion of their original opposition.

On so important a doctrine as that of Justification by faith alone without works, the very key-stone of protestantism, I am invited by what precedes to offer a few observations. It is impossible, point by point, in the argument of a portion of scripture the most honourable to the original church of Rome, to peruse the epistle to that church, without perceiving, that in the Justification of man before his Maker, *faith*, alone and simply, is represented as the means on the part of man, by which the blessing is to be obtained. It is impossible to avoid seeing, that the *law*, by the transgression of which the whole world, heathen as well Hebrew, is constituted guilty and thrown upon the divine mercy, and the exclusion of which from furnishing by its *works*, or obedience to it, a claim to justification in any shape, is absolutely affirmed, is the *universal law*, including that of Moses to the Jew, and that of nature or tradition to the gentile: not, therefore, a *ceremonial* law, by which, as heathens are concerned, it is absurd to suppose they could pretend or hope to be justified, but the entire law, and pre-eminently the *moral* law, or the most excellent, the moral, part of the law. The apostle could talk of no other to heathens; and he addresses himself equally to them. It is not imaginable by what terms works, or merits, in the office of justification, could be more pointedly and effectually ex-

cluded than is done in the Epistle directed to the Romans. The apostle has asserted the doctrine, separated from every thing in man deserving justification, *absolutely*, without *qualification or exception*. Lest it should be supposed, that there were any tacit or implied one, the most hopeful of all claimants—moral works, or charity, whether united with, or included in, faith,—he expressly marks this very claimant for exclusion. He distinguishes his doctrine by its being destructive of all *boasting*: 'where is *boasting*? it is 'excluded: by what law? of works? no; but by the *law of* 'faith *.' He again distinguishes it by its very nature, as being by *grace*, the very essence of which is destroyed by the alliance of *works* in any shape†. But why are *moral* works contended for, except for their real, their intrinsic value, and their consequently affording the truest matter of boasting? And this is the precise ground upon which they are expressly and preeminently excluded. No one could be more zealous than St. Paul for the necessity of good works as accompanying justifying faith: but we have seen, that no one could be more zealous in excluding them altogether in the office of justifying. The divine essence and honour of the scriptural doctrine of Justification are, that it is purely and literally by grace, without being merited by any human works, and most effectually destructive of all human boasting.

Session VII.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Sacraments in General, Baptism and Confirmation.—*Reformation*: Cathedrals, Benefices, &c.—Bull for Translation.

The legates had intimated, that the subject of the Sacraments should next in order come under the attention of the council; and as the fathers had already decided, that bap-

* iii. 27. † xi. 6.

tism, which to the recipient takes the lead of all the rest, is identical with, or productive of, the first Justification, there certainly was a propriety in giving the place of immediate succession in their deliberations to the Sacraments.

Two days after the last session, on the 15th of January, 1547, met the first general congregation; and there were read the votes of that session on Residence, which being found to be various, a deputation of prelatic canonists was appointed, in order to consider the subject. The title of the council was again discussed; and the attempt was renewed to introduce the representing clause. All, however, agreed to the formation of a canon condemning the Lutheran assertion on the subject before them.

With the intervention of a single day, another general congregation was held. The articles for consideration then proposed were, the Sacraments in general, and those of Baptism and Confirmation in particular; as well as the errors connected with the Sacraments, which in the first place were to be examined by the minor theologians, according to the custom hitherto observed in the council. Impediments to Residence were exhibited; and the fathers were directed to send for copies of the articles, and impediments, which were distributed the next day, the 18th *.

The pretensions of the bishops, writes the diarist, and particularly the Spanish ones, for residence and the restoration of episcopal authority to its primitive state, were renewed. The legate del Monte acknowledged the importance of the subject, but as it was a grave one, he wished that his holiness should be consulted, who, with the advantages which he could command at Rome, might be able to assist the council in its determinations. It was resolved to remove the impediments to residence. Among the principal was, plurality of benefices; since it was impossible that one man should be in more places than one at the same time.

When the sacraments were discussed, a catalogue of the

* Thus far the accurate secretary, who unites in correcting the date of the first congregation, which Fra Paolo called the *next day* after the session.

conclusions of the Lutherans was introduced, and some debate ensued, Saints Bernard and Cyprian being alleged as calling the washing of the feet a sacrament, and Augustine as affirming the same of every act by which Christ is honoured.

On the 20th, (returning to the secretary,) the congregation of minor theologians met; and fourteen 'Articles of 'heretics on the subject of the sacraments in general' were submitted to them. To these succeeded, 'Errors of the 'Lutherans concerning the sacrament of baptism,' to the number of seventeen. The list is closed with the 'Errors 'of the Lutherans concerning the sacrament of confirmation,' of which there are four. All these articles are given at length in the summary: but since they likewise appear in the history of Fra Paolo, it is not necessary to adduce them in the present work. One article, however, in the first catalogue, the 13th, has attracted particular attention, even from the writer of the Diary, and has therefore a legitimate claim to our notice. It stands thus: Intentionem ministrorum non requiri, nihilque agere in sacramentis—the intention of ministers is not necessary and does nothing in the sacraments.

It was necessary that the fathers should condemn this proposition, because it was directly opposed to the decision of the council of Florence. Caterino, bishop of Minori, however, took the heretical side of the question; and affirmed, that the sacrament was valid, independently of the intention of the administrator, if it were administered with the due rites. He founded his argument in part upon the alleged narration of Sozomen, that some boys amusing themselves on the sea shore elected Athanasius a bishop, who conferred baptism upon some of the same age, which coming to the ears of the bishop of Alexandria, he considered the fact of so serious a nature, that inquiring whether the youths had been previously baptized, and finding that they had not, and that the rite had been performed in due form, he pronounced the sacrament valid. Although no attention was

paid to the opinion of this bishop in the decision of the next session upon the subject, he did not fail to defend his sentiment in print, and to insist, that the council and himself were in perfect agreement, and that its decree should be interpreted conformably.

This is the amount of what is recorded in the Diary. The Venetian historian has the argument in much more extended detail, and with much superior material. According to this authority, the bishop pressed the point closely, and would not be satisfied with the explanation, that the intention extended no farther than to do what the church intended *; for even that intention might be absent; and then all the sacraments administered under those circumstances would be null; nor in any case was it possible to know, that this was not the fact. This doctrine does indeed render the papal population perfectly dependent upon the good will of the priest, but at what an expense! The annotator as well as translator of the great historian of the council has observed, that the opinion of the Roman church on this subject was in his time practically abandoned by her members. This is very probably the fact at the present time; and with respect not only to this doctrine but to the great body of the peculiar theology of Romanism. Outraged reason has fled to hypocrisy for protection: she could not do otherwise. And while prefixed to the missal there stands, and will stand as long as Rome lasts, *De defectibus in celebratione missarum occurrentibus*, the priest of the Italian communion must either believe the impostures of his church, or become an impostor himself by pretending so to do, and inviting others to do the same †.

On the same day as the last congregation was held, the 20th, a deputation of prelates who were canonists was ap-

* What do you believe? What the Church believes. But what does the Church believe? What I do. Then what do you both believe? I do not know.

† See the able 'Historical Discourse concerning the necessity of the Mi-'nister's Intention in administering the Sacraments,' anonymous, but by the justly celebrated Allix, published in the year of terror and deliverance, 1688.

pointed to examine the subject of reformation; and their names are given by the secretary. From that day to the 29th inclusive, congregations of these and of the theologians, assembled in their distinct and appropriate provinces, the first to occupy themselves with matters falling under the head of reformation, residence, pluralities, annexation of churches and benefices, exemptions, &c.: the others to examine the particular doctrine then in a state of preparation for the adoption of the council at its next session. No particulars are given of their proceedings; and they were no doubt diligently employed.

On the 31st of January, however, a new subject was introduced at a general congregation, after what had been done at the preceding ones had been considered, namely, the sacrament of the Eucharist, upon which certain articles of heretics were examined, and at a later part of the day communicated to all the fathers.

On the 3d of February was a congregation of the minor theologians, who began to examine the articles of heretics on the eucharist. They were ten in number. It was, it should seem, expected, that this, as well as the two preceding sacraments, would be settled at the ensuing session, which was not the case. The examination, however, was pursued in succeeding congregations before that session. The articles are given at length in the summary; and as I do not find them in either of the Tridentine historians I will give their sense at least in this place. The 1st is, that in the eucharist there is not truly the body and blood of Christ, but only as in a sign, in the same manner as wine is said to be in the sign of an inn, (in circula ante tabernam;) 2, that Christ is there exhibited, but spiritually only, to be eaten by faith; 3, that the body and blood are together with (simul cum) the substance of the bread and wine, so that there is no transubstantiation, but a hypostatic union of the humanity and the substance of bread and wine; 4, that Christ is not to be adored or venerated with festivals in the eucharist, nor to be carried about in processions, nor brought to the sick,

and that the adorers of it (ejus) are real idolaters; 5, that the eucharist is not to be kept in the sacrarium, but to be eaten at the time, and given to those present, and that those who do otherwise abuse the sacrament; 6, that in the hosts, or consecrated particles (wafers) remaining after communion, the body of Christ does not remain, but exists only when taken, and neither before nor after; 7, that it is of divine right to communicate in both kinds, and that therefore *they* sin, who compel the people to use one kind; 8, that there is not contained under one kind as much as is contained under both; 9, that faith alone is sufficient preparation for receiving the eucharist, and that a person is not bound to communicate at Easter; and 10, that it is not lawful for a person to communicate himself.

Such were the heresies, fairly or not presented, which these reverend congregations, in successive meetings, laboured to demolish, while their canonistic fellow labourers were employed in the ostensible demolition of pluralities and other abuses. Without forgetting, however, the new sacrament, they reverted to the general subject and the first two particular sacraments with zeal and assiduity. The secretary has faithfully, at least minutely, recorded the names of the speakers at each congregation; but these are comparatively of little importance. In his notice of the 25th of February he has repeated the conclusion of the meeting, that the majority being found to have been in favour of the reformation decree in the last session, *that* decree should be considered as approved by the session*.

* I introduce here, in regard of the date, a reference of some curiosity to English affairs in the letters of Cardinal Farnese, in the MS. Collection, No. VI. The first is of the date of March 1, 1547, to Cardinal Santa Croce, and mentions, that, at the death of the tyrant of England (Henry VIII,) there was no good hope that the kingdom would return to the good path, since at the coronation of the new king a play was performed in dishonour and vituperation of the pope and the cardinals. The same fact is repeated for substance in the next letter of the 8th of March to Mons^r. Verallo, which I will give in the original. Speaking—delle cose d' Inghilterra,—the writer proceeds—e quanto alla dispositione di quelle *anime perdute*, di tornar all' unien' della Chiesa, et ubedienza della Sede Apostolica, fin qui non si

That session was now very near at hand, and every thing was prepared for it.

Upon the subject of pluralities, the author of the Diary informs us, the legates wrote to the pontiff, suggesting to him not to make the reform too universal, but to leave the council to satisfy the bishops. The Spaniards presented eleven censures on ecclesiastical subjects, of which the legates complained to the pope, who partook of their dissatisfaction, and suspected the emperor to be at the bottom of these symptoms of insubordination. And our author adds, that certainly his majesty did aim to depress his holiness. This state of affairs induced the pope to think of transferring the council to Bologna. This, we shall find by the sequel, was no evanescent speculation. In the mean time, the pontiff having written to his nuncio at Venice to that purpose, the bishops who were there returned to the council.

The seventh session was celebrated on Thursday, March 3, 1547. The bishop of St. Mark was prevented by a cold from preaching.

The short preface of the doctrinal decree begins with the declaration, that for the completion of the doctrine of Justification promulgated in the last session, it was thought suitable to pass to the establishment of those sacraments by which all righteousness, or Justification (justitia), is either begun, or when begun is increased, or when lost is repaired: therefore the most holy and ecumenic synod proceeds in the first place to condemn the heresies which oppose the true doctrine, by the following canons, which separately anathematize those who affirm—1. That there are more or less than the seven specified sacraments; 2. That those of the old and new law differ only in ceremonies; 3, That the seven are equal in excellence; 4. That without them the

comprende cosa buona, ma si vede tutto l' opposito, per alcune commedie, che sono state recitate nella coronatione del nuovo Tirannetto, in disonor e vituperio del Papa, e delli Cardinali. The young king was perhaps never called a *Tyrannet*, before or after. Is this story in any English history? It would have relieved Strype.

grace of Justification may be obtained through faith alone, although all the sacraments are not necessary to all; 5. That they were instituted only to nourish faith; 6. That they do not confer grace by their own virtue; 7. That grace by them is not universally given on God's part; 8. That they have not an inherent virtue to confer the grace, which may be obtained by faith alone; 9. That baptism, confirmation, and order, do not impress an indelible mark on the soul, forbidding repetition; 10. That all have power to preach and administer the sacraments; 11. That an intention to do what the church does is not required in ministers when they consecrate or confer the sacraments; 12. That a minister in mortal sin, although observing all essential rites, does not consecrate or confer the sacrament; 13. That the ceremonies of the church may be despised or omitted without sin.

We may just observe upon the 4th of these canons, that the closing sentence, which the fathers awkwardly mean to represent their own doctrine, is evidently intended to shelter the priesthood, who are forbidden the use of one of the sacraments of their church, matrimony. On the 11th, we remark, that the necessity of intention to the validity of the sacrament is but feebly and timidly expressed by the word *requiri;* and with respect to the next, that although the absence of intention may invalidate a sacrament, mortal sin does not.

On baptism, in particular, the canons separately anathematize those who affirm—1. That the baptism of John was as valid as that of Christ; 2. That true water is not necessary; 3. That the church of Rome does not teach the true doctrine on the subject; 4. That baptism, administered even by heretics in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing what the church does, is not true baptism; 5. That baptism is unnecessary to salvation; 6. That the baptized cannot lose grace; 7. That baptism obliges to faith alone; 8. That the baptized are exempt from the obligation to obey the commands of the

church; 9. That the baptized are released by the remembrance of their baptism from future vows; 10. That all sins are remitted by the same remembrance; 11. That baptism ought to be repeated on apostates returning by penance; 12. That none ought to be baptized until as old as Christ at *his* baptism, or at the point of death; 13. That baptized infants should not be received into the number of the faithful; and last, not least, and therefore translated entire, 'that such little ones ought to be interrogated, 'when grown up, whether they will ratify what their spon-'sors promised in their name when they were baptized; 'and that if they answer, that they will not, they are to be 'left to their own will, and in the mean time to be com-'pelled to a Christian life by no other penalty, than that 'of being excluded from the use of the eucharist and other 'sacraments, until they repent,'—nec *aliâ* interim *pœnâ* ad Christianam vitam *cogendos*, nisi ut ab eucharistia, &c.

The 1st of these canons might be mistaken for an instance of kindness and liberality to heretics. On the contrary, it is one of those serpentine policies, by which the church of Rome barters her orthodoxy for her interest. Baptism makes the subject of it her inalienable slave, and she is sure to open the door wide enough for as many as can be brought to enter her prison house. The last canon is self convicting proof of this. The 9th canon discovers the apprehension lest the comprehensive vow of baptism should render superfluous the ulterior vows enjoined by the Roman church, and not unconnected with her profits and her reputation. The 10th discovers the same feeling, lest, if the remission by baptism be deemed permanently sufficient, no recourse should in future be had to the various benevolent provisions of the same church for the recurring offences of her members. The 11th canon is equally provident in behalf of the sacrament of penance, the fruits of which enlarge the power of the church to do good. The last is a justification of religious coercion to any extent which may be required; and should always be

remembered by non-Romanists as such. Force of any and every kind and degree is allowed, is a duty, of that church, out of which is no salvation.

The three canons respecting confirmation are of minor importance. They direct their anathemas against those who affirm, that confirmation is not a sacrament; that there is no virtue in chrism; and that the bishop is not the sole ordinary minister of confirmation.

The fifteen chapters of the decree of reformation which are preceded by a short introduction, ending with the words, 'saving always in all things the authority of the apostolic 'see,' are as verbose, technical, and nugatory as might be expected. They are confined to ecclesiastical and beneficiary matters, and provide for the government of cathedrals by individuals of reputation; they forbid pluralities in these supreme benefices; they insist upon worthy possessors of inferior benefices; they pronounce some unions as incompatible; they require that dispensations, when given should be exhibited, and proper substitutes be provided to perform the duty; they declare surreptitious unions null, and that unions shall only be allowed for reasonable causes; unions of another class require competent vicars; the ordinaries are to visit in particular cases; the higher ecclesiastics are to be consecrated within the prescribed time; chapters have some duties imposed; ordinations by foreign bishops must be justified by a lawful reason; dispensations not to undertake orders are not to be valid above a year, except in cases expressed in the law; those who are to be presented to benefices by ecclesiastics are to be examined and approved by their ordinaries; the poor are to be paid in particular cases; and hospitals are to be faithfully and diligently looked after by their administrators.

Rome need not have been in much terror at such reformation: but we must wait, for more is to come.

The session ended by appointing the 21st day of April for the next.

Some present, the secretary observes, desired certain

modifications: their number amounted to 13; but the remaining 70 approved what had been decreed simply and throughout.

There were 61 prelates, nine of them archbishops, present, without reckoning the cardinals.

It appears, however, that for some time previous to the present session, it had been finally determined to transfer the council from Trent to some other place; for a bull with a faculty of transferring the council, without naming to what place, was directed by the reigning pontiff to the legates, which bears the date of February 22, 1547 *. The legate, however, made no secret, but publicly announced, that Bologna was the place appointed for the future sessions of the council; and the next session, assembled before the appointed time, will fully explain the whole.

Session VIII.

TRANSLATION TO BOLOGNA.

On the day succeeding the last session, March 4, copies of the articles on the Sacrament of the Eucharist were given to all the fathers.

On the 6th, died of a fever, Henrico Loffredi, bishop of Capaccio. May his soul, the secretary adds, rest in peace.

On the 7th, a general congregation assembled, in which, after some ecclesiastical business, the Eucharist was proposed as the doctrinal subject of the next session. On the same day the body of the lately deceased bishop was deposited in the cathedral.

Another congregation on the 8th began its task respect-

* This bull is extant in the original Aldine edition of the Canons and Decrees of the Council, and probably in all other editions. In the small one of Chifflet the date is, XIII kal. instead of VIII—an easy mistake of an X for a V.

ing the doctrine proposed, by examining the articles of the heretics drawn up on the subject; and after some formality in answering a petition, it was taken into consideration what should be done, in consequence of the prevailing disease in the city of Trent.

The writer of the Diary, who is evidently not one of the pontifical party, represents the affair thus. Many of the prelates and their domestics were at this time indisposed, either from the indulgences of the carnival, or the humidity of the atmosphere. The cardinal del Monte employed persons to inquire of the physicians, whether there was any danger of contagion, who dropping an ambiguous word, a general panic ensued, which was justified by the recent death just mentioned *; and, as the disease increased, the legate ordered the procurator of the council to institute a process concerning it. It was reported that the neighbouring towns, and Verona in particular, had suspended all intercourse with the infected place; so that a congregation was held on the 9th of March, where the legates published their faculty for transferring the council. The imperialists protested, that there was no just cause for the measure, and afterwards the congregation inquired and found that it was a pretence and a concerted thing †.

Massarelli records the congregation of the 9th, and states, that after examining the doctrinal point, on which they were engaged, the cardinal del Monte proposed to the fathers to consider what course should be taken, since so many of their body had withdrawn, and others continued to withdraw, from the city. To avoid the dissolution of the council in this way the opinions of the fathers present were

* There were several others.

† There is a very curious document in Le Plat, iii. 590, &c. derived from Martene's collection, Acts in the translation of the Council to Bologna, with the Depositions of the Physicians at length concerning the disease, which is said to be vulgarly called *petecce*. The Latin epithets are ponticularis and lenticularis. It appeared to be eruptive and contagious.

desired: but their sentiments were so various, that the determination was adjourned till the next day.

They then met, being the 10th of March, and the greater part agreed to transfer the council to Bologna. The formal resolution, however, to that purpose they reserved to a public session, which was fixed by the president for the very next day, the 11th of March.

The business of this session was very summary: it consisted simply in reading the decree for the translation of the council, which was no more in effect than the question, whether, considering the nature, prevalence, and danger of the distemper at Trent, the fathers did not think it necessary for their safety, that the council should be transferred for a time to Bologna, as more healthy and commodious, appointing the 21st of April ensuing for the next session in that place, and there to remain until the council thought it best to return and chuse a third place, after the council had communicated with the sovereigns. The greater part of the session approved.

Massarelli does not enable us to judge of the proportion, having made but one list, of the members present; but from the catalogue, which is adopted in Le Platt's edition of the canons and decrees, it appears that the two legates with the prelates and generals, and abbats, who were for the translation, made 42; and the cardinal Pacecco, with the prelates for remaining at Trent, made 18. It is due, however, to the candour, as well as accuracy, of the secretary to add, that the names of those who remained at Trent, to the number of 13, are recorded afterwards. There is one remarkable circumstance in that list—none of the generals of orders or abbats are included: they all adhered to the legates.

Session IX.—Bologna I.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Prorogation of Session.

The presidents of the council, and the fathers who agreed with them as to the translation of the council, took their course on the very next day after the session towards Bologna *. The non-contents, to the number of 13, who are expressly named by the secretary, remained at Trent. The legantine company reached Bologna on the 20th, and were received there with great honour and joy.

They lost no time, but immediately set to business; for on the 25th of March, the presidents exhibited to the theologians a copy of 14 articles extracted from the books of the modern heretics on the sacrament of penance, or penitence. The articles are transcribed at length. On the 29th the divines assembled in the first congregation at Bologna in the house of the Campeggi, and the principal residence of the first president the cardinal del Monte. They discussed the above mentioned articles; and, if the dates of our secretary are correct, they continued so employed from the day then present for one entire month, to the same day, the 29th of April.

In the mean time, on the 12th of April, the presidents

* In the valuable collection of documents in MS in the different libraries of Spain, published by Dn. J. L. Villanueva in his Vida Literaria, at the end of the second volume, there is a letter by Juan Paez de Castro, dated April 3, 1547, which gives some account of this departure of the legate and their adherents. On the day chosen for determining upon the translation of the council, the gospel of the mass had in it the words, '*cast off the dust of your feet*,' &c., which was a kind of execration of the city; when they started for Verona some looked back, saying, '*There you may stay, ye swine!*' Some Italians said of the Spaniards, that having spent two years in a land of heretics, they were not disposed to go to that of Christ; and the written protests of the latter were strewed on the floor, of which the authors repented, and strove in vain to recover them. The emperor sent to Rome to expostulate with his holiness, who *swore*, that he was not aware of it, and was sorry, but threw the whole upon the council, by whose resolution he would abide.

issued letters to the prelates who remained in Trent. The first, to Cardinal Pacecco, relates their arrival in Bologna, and the very honourable and cordial reception which they had received from all ranks; blessing God, that in so just and necessary a change of place they had selected one which had every recommendation for beauty, opulence, and abundance of provisions; and where the council might be prosecuted with all peace, liberty, and security; and closing with the announcement of the day of the next session, the 21st of April. The date is April 11, 1547.

There are three other letters of precisely the same import, written each to several of the prelates jointly; and of the delivery of all of them there is a formal attestation.

From the historian, as he may be called exclusively of the council, the accurate Fra Paolo, we supply the defect of our manuscripts in this place, by the information, that the fathers, who remained at Trent, according to the known and expressed wish of the emperor, who was highly averse to the translation, were at a difficulty how to act. They resolved, however, to abstain from any synodical act, lest they should thereby create a schism; and contented themselves with pursuing their studies on the points before them.

The first general congregation at Bologna was held on the 19th of April; and it was concluded, that, on account of the paucity of attendants, no decree should be then made on the subject of the Sacraments and Reformation *; but that, at the ensuing session, nothing but the usual ceremonies should take place. By another congregation, the day after, the next session was appointed for the immediately succeeding day, the 21st, and the one after that for the 2d of June.

On the 21st of April, therefore, the Ninth Session of the council, and the first at Bologna, was celebrated.

It is to be observed, that the secretary, whose summary

* Confirmation is written, although there were canons on it in the last session. It is evidently a mistake for Reformation.

we are following, and which is highly valuable on account of its minuteness and presumed accuracy, having accompanied the major and Italian part of the council to Bologna, gives the whole history of its proceedings with a detail and apparent interest, which plainly exhibits the more distinct feeling of rivalry. Where the parties were mingled in one enclosure the same feeling operated in a desultory and undefined manner: but when they were separated they stood opposite to one another, visibly to themselves and the world, in hostile array.

The secretary commences his account of the session by calling it the First Public Session of the holy Ecumenic and General Council of Bologna—not the Ninth of Trent, as if it were hoped, that *that* place would not again be thought of as the future seat of the council. They met in the collegiate church of St. Petronius of Bologna. A solemn mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated. An indulgence, then, according to custom, was published by the deacon; and Caterino, bishop of Minori, clothed in his pluviale and mitre, ascended the altar, and delivered a pious and luminous oration. This being finished, the presidents received their robes, and the eighty-fourth psalm was chanted. The first president then approached the high altar, where he performed the usual prayers and ceremonies, and litanies were sung, &c. The second president followed, and in the same place implored the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and other offices succeeded. They then, both sat down before the high altar, with canopies over their heads; and with their faces towards the assembled prelates; when the decree was received from their hands by the archbishop of Naxia, who, ascending a pulpit, read it with a loud and intelligible voice.

The decree, with the usual verbosity, for substance, simply declares, that the council having been transferred to the present place, for good and urgent reasons, and that, from different causes, too small a number were assembled for the due discharge of their important undertaking; there-

fore, that the session should be adjourned to the 2d of June; but the term, if found expedient, might be abridged.

The archbishop of Naxia then asked the fathers, whether they approved the decree, in these words:—

Most reverend and illustrious presidents, and most venerable * fathers, are all these words approved?

And immediately the most reverend and illustrious presidents and legates answered—approved.

Then, without delay, each of the fathers was separately asked, 'by me Angelo Massarelli, secretary of the sacred 'council,' whether they approved, (two notaries, named, being present,) who answered unanimously, that they approved. And this was announced with the same formality.

Then were read 'by me the aforesaid secretary,' the votes of two fathers, who, being necessarily detained by ill health, were *indulged* with the privilege of sending their votes in writing.

The promoter requested the notaries present to draw out one or more instruments of what had passed; and the first president, elevating his hand, pronounced a second benediction on the sacred synod with the sign of the cross. The fathers then laid aside their robes and departed.

There were present at this session, besides the two presidents, thirty-eight prelates, one abbat, four generals of orders, and six officials of the council. I take this enumeration from the manuscript of the secretary. As represented by Martene in his collection of Monuments, adopted by Le Plat, whom I have hitherto followed, there are two or three additional names, which may have existed in some other copy: there is likewise a large number of names of lay and ecclesiastic persons of distinction, particularly of the different religious orders, who probably attended the session to increase its pomp and effect.

* amplissimi.

Session X.—Bologna II.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Prorogation of Session.

A week after the first session at Bologna, or on the 29th of April, the usual theologians commenced their labours upon the three remaining sacraments, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony.

Upon the first of these subjects we have presented to us two articles of the heretics, viz., that Extreme Unction is a human figment, or a rite differing from a sacrament, as having neither divine command, nor promise of grace; and that it is not performed in the Roman church according to scripture, and ought to be changed.

There follow four such articles on the sacrament of Order, purporting, that Order was an office, or duty; that those who preached not were no priests; that the character of priest was common to all Christians, but that a vocation was important for use and execution; and that bishops have no power of ordination.

On Matrimony, there were five heretical articles, teaching, that clandestine marriages are not lawful, but that polygamy is; that infidelity on the woman's part dissolves the bond; that he is not a whoremonger, who, dismissing an adulteress, marries another woman; that divorce annuls marriage, and allows a second; that the degrees of affinity, as stated in Leviticus, are to be observed, and that the church has no power to interdict or rescind marriages regulated by that observance.

The theologians were employed upon these subjects from the 29th of April to the 7th of May.

The general congregations then began to take them up, and continued their exertions, particularly in forming canons on the eucharist, from the 9th of May to the 15th (or 16th*) of the same month.

The examination was followed up upon the same subjects

* The number is doubtful in the MS.

by particular congregations of prelatic theologians, deputed for that purpose, as at Trent; and they laboured from the 17th to the 27th of May. The result was, the formation of eight canons, fortified, according to rule, each with its own anathema, and approved by a general congregation of the 31st of May.

The first is against those who affirm, that in the eucharist is not contained truly and really the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, but only in a sign or figure. It will be observed, that here is wanting the word 'substantially,' and 'together with the soul and divinity,' and the 'whole Christ,' as it is found in the first canon of the decree which actually passed in the thirteenth session, and stands as a decree of the council. The second canon is very similar to that which was adopted by the legitimate session. It is of no great importance to notice the remainder, as they were superseded by the canons which are received as the only legitimate ones.

These canons, however, were approved; and on the appointed day, the 2d of June, the tenth conciliar, and second Bolognese, session was held.

The ceremonies, which are accurately *repeated*, are precisely, for matter, the same as those which took place in the first session in the new station. There does not appear to have been any sermon, but the usual indulgence, as it is called, was duly published. The decree read was merely a prorogation of the session, in the customary form, to the 15th of September, so that the discussions should be continued, and the term might be shortened.

The same formality, as in the first session, was observed in requesting and receiving the approbation of the fathers present; and the secretary is equally precise in notifying his own personal discharge of the duty which fell to his share.

With the presidents there were thirty-nine members of the council present.

Le Plat, in his edition of the canons and decrees of the council, has at this point given a complete list of all the

fathers who attended at any time the first ten sessions of the council. The number is very considerable; and the notes added, respecting some of the individuals, although very concise, are useful to a minute inquirer.

The secular events bearing upon the proceedings of the council were, the success of the emperor against the protestants, which excited the jealousy and alarm of the pontiff, and produced an alliance between him and the king of France. An abortive attempt, we are likewise informed by the diarist, was made to introduce the inquisition into Naples. The emperor interfered, and obtained, in favour of the insurgents, that they should only be fined. At the end of August, the emperor assembled a diet at Augsburg, where he endeavoured to prevail on the Lutherans to consent to the Council of Trent, which they were willing to do, on the conditions—that it should be free; that the pope would release the bishops from their oath*; that the protestant theologians should have a decisive vote; and that the decrees hitherto made should be re-examined. The catholics said, that the council would proceed; that a safe conduct would be granted to the protestants; that they might speak freely, but that they should be obliged to obey. In this last sentence, there was doubtless sincerity enough; but nothing is said of the protestants being allowed a determining voice.

We now go back to the point at which we left the secretary, and follow his statements which more nearly concern the operations of the council.

After the last session, and on the 6th of June, the presidents proposed to the fathers, to be examined, the canons formed on the sacrament of penance, both for matter and form; which canons were discussed in general congregations from the 10th to the 15th of June. Their censures were examined by the theologians from the 17th of June to the 12th of July, and certain canons were agreed upon, twelve in number, and rather verbose. If there were likely

* The oath of allegiance to the pope, which made them his vassals and slaves.

to be, or if there actually were, any mixture of sound theology in the composition of the congregations, by whom the present decisions were made, some variation might exist between *their* definitions and those which were finally adopted in the ulterior progress of the council. But in an Italian city of all others, and in a body composed of Italian members, nothing could be expected, nor is found, than one unvarying monotony of Roman heresy.

In the mean time certain articles were drawn up for the examination of the theologians, with reference to the heresies respecting them on the subjects of purgatory and indulgences. The first is divided into four inquiries, the latter into seven.

Reformation, however, was not neglected; and the abuses connected with the sacraments and their remedies were discussed with great care and diligence by the divines, and sanctioned by a general congregation on the 16th of June*. The sacraments concerned are, baptism, confirmation, and the eucharist.

From the 27th to the 29th of July the canons on extreme unction and order were examined by general congregations.

After this examination was completed, heretical articles were submitted to the theologians, on the subject of the mass. These amount to seven. We may here interpose the observation relative to all these lists, that no authors, no places in them, are stated; and that therefore they can neither be verified nor denied. It is one consolation, that evident and important truth greatly preponderates in most of them.

We cannot follow the minute detail of the operations of the fathers. Let it suffice to observe, that canons upon extreme unction and order were formed and approved; and, in particular, an examination was instituted respecting two articles of the Lutherans on the sacrament of matrimony, to the elucidation of which, testimonies of fathers and coun-

* I suspect this should be July; for in the next paragraph, and sufficiently near, we read 27 ejusdem mensis, Julii.

cils to a considerable extent are arrayed on both sides Certain canons were formed on the subject.

The 15th of September, the day fixed for the next session, was approaching; but as there was no prospect of being able to proceed to effectual business in it, it was formally prorogued in a general congregation on the day immediately preceding, the 14th. When the fathers were assembled in the usual place, the first president invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit in a prayer, which he read, imploring the Lord, the Holy Spirit, to be present with them, to direct them how to proceed, to rule their judgments, and not to suffer the enemies of righteousness to triumph. 'Let not,' he proceeded, 'ignorance betray, favour warp, acceptance of 'persons corrupt our minds; but being assembled in thy 'name, and united with each other, grant that under the 'influence of piety we may follow righteousness, so that our 'decisions here may in nothing oppose thine, and that in 'future we may obtain the eternal reward of our good 'deeds*.' He then addressed himself to the fathers, to the effect, that they were encompassed with difficulties and impediments; that many of them, particularly the French, had so recently arrived, that such important matters as were before them could not be settled with sufficient gravity and maturity; that those who had all along been present were as yet unprepared; and that amidst all their perplexities, increased by the recent assassination of the Duke of Placentia†, it became necessary to omit the session of the morrow and prorogue it to some future time. The proposal was approved.

The president proceeded in his address, informing the audience, that in the midst of their present difficulties he could fix upon no certain time for the next session; that when at Trent they had considered fifteen days sufficient

* The prayer generally, as far as it can be made out, is not a bad one. Unfortunately, the worst part, the conclusion, is clear—et in futuro pro bene gestis consequamur premia sempiterna.

† His Holiness's son.

for settling the doctrine of justification, which with unintermitted congregations had occupied them for seven months together; that they were beset by other difficulties arising from the turbulence of the times; that therefore it appeared most prudent and advisable to prorogue the next session at the pleasure of the council, as might appear most conducive to the Divine honour; that there did indeed exist some reason for fixing the time; that he trusted the present suspense would not continue long; and he finally requested the fathers to deliver their opinions freely on the subject proposed.

They all assented to the discretionary prorogation.

It is remarkable that, as if this, which was no more than a general congregation, partook somewhat of the character and authority of a session, the secretary has subscribed the names of all the attendants precisely as he had previously done in the case of the past sessions. With the presidents, the French ambassador from the new king, Henry II, (which deserves some remark as a fruit of the recent alliance,) and the prelates, the number present was fifty-six, besides generals of orders and officials—a competent assembly; but there was the imperial part of the council at Trent, and their sovereign not more friendly to the translation than he was before. Of this proofs will appear.

The council of Bologna (so we may call it) proceeded in its preparations. Canons were drawn up upon the abuses of the sacraments of baptism and confirmation. These canons are very extended, and differ from the general form of canons by their purporting to be only *declarations* and *admonitions*. They were proposed in a general congregation on the 27th of September, and were examined by successive meetings to the 3d of October. Provisions on the subject of the specified abuses, of which a copy had been communicated to the fathers, were subsequently discussed. Canons on the sacrament of matrimony were also presented. On the 27th of October were proposed for discussion canons on the abuses of the eucharist, which abuses are designated with great

horror; likewise other abuses, with their remedies—these all, it will be remembered, fall under the head of Reformation. And in this manner the council was occupied to the end of November.

At a general congregation on the 21st of December the president apprized the fathers, that he had received a breve of their most holy Lord, in which his holiness relates a petition of the cardinal of Trent in the name of the emperor, concerning the return of the council to Trent; and that his beatitude requests the judgment and advice of the holy synod, how to answer. The breve, which is short, and simply expresses these facts, with the usual technicality, is subjoined, and dated the 16th of December. The fathers wished to have some matters of doubt cleared before they committed themselves by approving the proposed return. There were present, writes the secretary, without specifying them severally and by name, as before, both the *French* ambassadors, (the union is improving,) and fifty-seven prelates.

At a general congregation on the 20th, (which must be wrong, as a preceding day had been called the 21st, unless the error were there,) it was unanimously agreed, that the answer to his holiness should be written by the president. It is a long epistle, occupying eleven folio pages moderately full, and distinguished by the general character of ecclesiastical state-papers, particularly the Roman. The argument of it, which secures against the hazard of any thing like an engagement, is, that the synod must be *certain* upon several points upon which certainty was not very attainable—whether, in case of the return to Trent, Germany will unreservedly submit to the decisions of the council; whether there be any truth in the rumour of a certain vulgar or popular council to be collected from all sorts of men and called a Christian council; whether security will be given to the persons of those who return; and whether the council, when returned, will be at liberty to transfer itself again if thought proper—before the present council can decide upon so im-

portant a measure. And this is the best advice it could give his holiness. Dated the 20th of December.

On the 2d of January, 1548, in a general congregation, the president read an account of the answer given by the pope to the imperial ambassador concerning the reduction of the council to Trent. The respective policies of his imperial and his papal majesty, in their predilections respecting the seat of the council, are so obvious, and it is so plain, that in the protestations and answers on the subject, however ingenious and voluminous, there can occur no argument which does not arrange itself under the interests of their respective authors, that we may very excusably pass over this portion of the history with comparative rapidity.

After five distinct general congregations, assembled between the 4th and the 14th of January, proceeding with business into which it is not important to inquire, we come to a process of protestation made by the imperial proctors in the council of Bologna, and the answer of the sacred synod. A great deal of animated debate took place on the occasion; but very secular, and easily anticipated.

On the 1st of February an answer of the pontiff to the imperial ambassador in public consistory extends over between thirty and forty pages of the manuscript before me, but in the collection of Le Plat, where it is found, it is included in about eleven. There follows immediately in the same collection a new protestation against his holiness, prepared, but not issued.

A breve of the pope, dated the 16th of February, was directed to both the presidents, the second having returned from Rome, desiring them to send certain of the prelates to the holy see, in order to defend the translation of the council. A general congregation was held on the 28th; and on the next day were deputed for that purpose a certain number of prelates, who took with them a commendatory epistle to his holiness, dated the 9th of March, 1548, and signed,

Servi, et Creaturæ Jo. Maria Card^{lis}. de Monte
Marcellus Card^{is}. S. Crucis.

Their appearance at Rome, March 22, is largely detailed; and their letter to the legates is exhibited.

There follows, of the date of the 17th of February, a breve of the pontiff directed to Pacecco, cardinal of Jaen, and the other fathers continuing at Trent, inviting them to send some of their body to Rome, to explain to his holiness to what they objected in the translation. The breve is long, and it receives as long an answer, full of respect,—pleading the view of the emperor respecting the translation as illegal, and their own consciences according with that view; reminding his holiness, that while the emperor was a *conquering* Joshua, he was a *praying* Moses; soliciting protection from vexation; and entreating the great pastor of the church to send back the fathers to the pre-elected city; at the close signing themselves his most humble *creatures*, and most devoted orators.

To this an answer was given in the name of the deputies of Bologna at Rome in a *judicium* addressed to the pope*. The writers vindicate the translation of the council on the ground of the prevalence of the disease in Trent; they combat the pretence of the residents in *that* city, that their presence was not wanted at Bologna, since it was solicited, and no answer returned; they take offence at the apparent suspicion cast upon the reality of the malady at Trent; and they finally entreat his holiness not to render their labours at Bologna useless by suspending them, but to allow them to resume their course, and to exhibit to the world the justice of their cause.

On the 17th of May the president della Croce was recalled to Rome; and on the 13th of July the first president was made legate of Bologna.

Four prelates of the council of Bologna, and as many remaining at Trent, are summoned to the presence of his holiness in Rome: the latter excusing themselves, a second call is made upon them. This is dated September 18, 1549.

The secretary concludes his summary with a complete

* See Le Plat's collection at the beginning of the ivth volume.

list of the names of those, fathers and others, who attended the sessions at Bologna. It is with regret that we lose him as our farther guide. When it is well considered how much more valuable in history is exactitude in the notation of time, than the fascinating embellishments of eloquence, which are often made to supply its place and disorder the truth of facts, we shall give such authors as Massarelli an honourable place in the historic department of literature.

Having advanced rather prematurely in our chronology, in order to carry on the summary without interruption to its close, we must now retrograde a little, to notice secular operations connected with the council. The Diary, in connexion with the known published historian, relates, that the emperor, at a diet in Augsburg, convened the 1st of September, 1547, and which he thought proper to overawe by force, required the protestants to submit to the decrees of the council then sitting at Trent. He did not obtain his purpose; and in the next year, finding that the council, notwithstand inga his remonstrances, had left Trent for Bologna, and that nothing was, or was likely to be, done, he determined, having the power in his hands, to issue a temporary rule of faith, to which he would invite or compel the obedience of his subjects. Its obligation was to cease when the council should be reassembled in a manner which he approved, and publish its own decrees upon the same subject. This formulary was drawn up by Julius Pflugius, Michael Sidonius, and John Agricola, and was solemnly promulgated by the emperor at the diet of Augsburg, May 15, 1548; the elector of Mentz taking upon himself to give it a formal approbation, as representative of the whole assembly. This formulary is well known by the expressive title of the *Interim*; and was constructed with the dishonest dexterity familiar to the church which supplied it. In softened and ambiguous terms it asserts all the peculiar doctrines of the dominant faith; and, like all other conciliatory schemes from the same quarter, effects its object at the sole expense of truth and rectitude. Projects of this description, however fascinating

to minds of a certain character and profundity, furnish one of the most striking illustrations of the fallacy resulting from the suppression or distortion of *kind* and *degree* in the estimate of moral or intellectual subjects. The truth and value of conciliation and mutual forbearance in differences upon *non-essential points*, or those of *secondary* and *inferior* importance, are, or ought to be, universally admitted. But between absolute, or almost absolute, antipodes no union whatever can take place: the attempt is the same as to endeavour to embody a negative and an affirmative upon the same subject, and in the same sense, in a simple proposition. There can be no wonder, therefore, that Rome, with her flexible and watchful policy, allowed the thing to proceed, and produce advantage to herself, without committing herself by any responsible participation. The contemptible expedient, however, deceived or pleased neither party, and became perfectly inefficient, as it deserved to be*. The catholic states and princes themselves, as they are called, made a formal answer to the Interim; and Charles, in consequence of their suggestion, issued another formulary relating to reformation, of considerable length, and approved by the diet of Augsburg†. These acts procured for the emperor the reputation of making himself the head of the German, Spanish, and Italian church, after the example of the king of England.

At this time his holiness sent into Germany the bishops of Verona and Firentillo with authority to absolve from heresy; and a bull for that purpose, and sufficiently ample, was published throughout Germany.

The Diary likewise states, that the king of France, on the

* The Interim is of tolerable extent. It is given in Le Plat's collection iv. 32—69, therefore 37 quarto pages. It contains 35 chapters. I have the first edition in German,—a handsome folio, printed at Ments by Juo. Schoffer, MDXLVIII. Bossuet's Exposition, and the Declaration of the Roman Catholics of this country in 1826, are upon precisely the same plan; and no *true* Romanist will own either, but he will quietly take advantage of the good which they may do.

† Both these pieces are to be seen in Le Plat, ubi supra, 69—101.

4th of July, made a solemn procession, and published an edict commanding the observance of the doctrine of the apostolic see; and in order to show his own perseverance in the union of the Roman church, he ordered many heretics to be decapitated in his presence, and those who knew of any to discover them. He also directed the bishops to convoke synods for the reform of their churches, which was not acceptable at Rome.

The schismatic council, which was convoked for the purpose of healing both heresy and schism, protracted its being in Bologna in a very ambiguous manner. It was a council and no council, the head of the two factions into which it was divided, without being able to control the inferior and refractory one. Germany and its emperor, which it was principally called to benefit, were neglected and foiled, and of consequence dissatisfied. It was time, therefore, that so useless an assembly should in some way expire. The pontiff himself accordingly inflicted upon it somewhat of an honourable death: he sealed its formal suspension. In fact, he had intended to take the matter of his own reformation into his own hands; and he could not do so without casting contempt on an *existing* council. He therefore commanded the president to dismiss the bishops. This was done by a letter of cardinal Farnese to del Monte, dated the 13th of September, 1549, and the order was executed on the 17th: it was signified at the same time, that it was not the intention of the pontiff that the council should be continued, but that decrees for restoring discipline should be enacted at Rome *.

The pontiff Paul III died on the 10th of November, 1549, and, on the 7th of February ensuing, 1550, cardinal del Monte, chief president of the council until its suspension,

* This is the representation of Pallavicino, who idly triumphs over Sarpi for saying, that the council slept on for two years. The fact of the suspension is supported by the Acts and Diaries of the council. His own testimony is satisfactory.—Ist. xi. 4, 4. It may be added, that the suspension is expressly recognized in the Bull of Resumption.

was elected to succeed him *. He assumed the name of Julius, out of regard to the last Julius, the second, and was therefore the third of the same name.

Upon his accession the emperor renewed his instances for the return of the council to Trent, and requested an explicit answer, that he might know how to act on the subject of religion in his own empire; since the council on which he relied for settling that great question was dissolved. The new pope could not but be perplexed by this demand, as he was the cause of translating the council from Trent: he, however, thought it best to gratify the emperor; and therefore assembled a congregation of cardinals, chiefly in the imperial interest, and desired them to deliver their minds freely. Cardinal Crescentio, who, on this occasion, was the principal speaker, said, that in a choice of difficulties, when if the request were refused, *that* would be done independently by the parties which should be done by the council, the most politic and honourable risk was, to reassemble the council, in which, he added, many *methods* were feasible, of diverting *that* body, as, by keeping the prelates in disputes and various matters, so that they should not find time to think of depressing the apostolic authority, and by securing the attachment of the Italians by offices and rewards, and in such manner balancing the princes among themselves, that they should not be able to unite in any plan to humiliate the apostolic see. The force of this reasoning was admitted, and the resumption of the council in Trent absolutely agreed upon. Couriers were despatched to the princes. To the king of France the bishop Triulcio was sent as nuncio, to induce him, by the assurance that the interest of the Gallican church would not be called in question, to send his bishops to the council. To the emperor another nuncio was instructed to represent, that his holiness was actuated in the present resolution by a concern for the advantage of his majesty; that it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the French king, from fear of a national

* The dates are from Pallavicino, xi. 6.

council and the loss of France; that assistance during the sitting of the council was important, to guard against loss of time; and that his majesty might be secure of the obedience both of catholics and protestants to the council. The king of France, believing that the pontiff was adverse to the emperor, offered his most vigorous aid; and the emperor lauded his holiness, and promised ever to protect the council *.

At the diet of Augsburg in June it was resolved to submit every thing to the council when assembled. The protestants made their natural and reasonable demands. Pallavicino writes, that in the form of the proposition of the diet occurred the expression, *to continue in Trent*, which might be construed as a reflexion upon the translation; and upon the complaint of the nuncio, it was altered. It will be observed in time how anxious the pontifical party itself was for the adoption of the *continuation* in reference to the council: at the present it was carefully avoided. The pope had prepared a bull for, not the continuation, but the *resumption*, of the council; it is dated November the 14th, 1550, and appoints the 1st of May ensuing for the first meeting †. The emperor desired to have this bull sent for the inspection of the diet, *in its outline:* but his holiness thought it not befitting his dignity to comply, and sent the bull *in its completed state*, although he had not published it. The imperial councillors thought a part of it too strong on the authority of the pope; and recommended that the same artifice should be used for entrapping the protestants as was adopted by hunters to secure the object of their pursuit, —seeming to yield in order to inveigle the intended victim into the snare. The pope replied, that he wished to do things openly and effectually. The emperor rejoined, that forbearance was of use, and that, if it had been adopted in the first instance, the fire now to be quenched would never have been kindled. This had no effect upon his holiness, who repeated all the towering pretensions of his predecessors. This alternation of artful conciliation and of unbend-

* Diario iii.

† See Ist. del Conc. di T. xi. 11, 3.

ing arrogance terminated in the victory of the latter, and the bull kept unaltered. Upon this the protestants became tumultuous, and the papists were dissatisfied. The emperor with healing speeches quieted both. An imperial decree was made on the 13th of February, 1551, requiring all the protestants and ecclesiastical princes to attend, and submit to, the council, where full liberty of speech would be allowed —but what liberty, or right, of *determining?*

SESSION XI.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Resumption of the Council under Julius III.

EVENTS were now approaching to a state of maturity for the resumption of the council at Trent. Imperial power and importunity, not to say justice, had wrested from papal interest and reluctance the reduction of the council from an Italian seat to the old one, less under the influence of him who claimed to be its master. The pontiff chose for his legate, (for he took care to escape the responsibility and other inconveniences of being personally present,) Marcello Crescentio, cardinal presbyter of St. Marcello; to whom he joined, as nuncios, Sebastiano Pighino, archbishop of Siporto, and Aloisio Lipomano, bishop of Verona. They are, however, all called legates.

At this second portion of the council our manuscripts fail us, excepting the abridged diary of which we shall make principal use, scanty as it is. We might therefore without impropriety have referred the reader, for the necessary information of this period, to the Venetian historian. But for the purpose of preserving the course of the narrative of so interesting a transaction in some degree unbroken, we will travel through the space, availing ourselves of the assistance of the published history, where the unpublished one is

deficient, and giving as much as appears essential from the canons and decrees themselves, which are doubtless the most substantial and permanent part of the history.

The eleventh session, and first under Julius III, was regularly opened, with the accustomed forms, on the 1st of May, as announced. Then was read the Bull of Resumption, which, as it has before been referred to, and contains some particulars which give a character to the proceedings as emanating from a new ruler, it will be of service to notice. The part which gave the great and just offence, was, where Julius first speaks of himself—'We, to whom, as supreme pontiff 'for the time, it pertains, to announce and direct general 'councils,' &c. He then calls upon all kings and princes, as well as others, to assist him in his holy endeavours; and, after announcing the day of the present session, and promising the attendance of his legates, if he, from age or ill health, and other occupations of the apostolic see, should be unable to appear personally—let the reader weigh the expression, when he knows that the individual had determined, for obvious reasons, not to appear personally—he glances at the *suspension* of the council and concludes in the usual way.

The question was then put, whether the fathers approved, that the Tridentine council should be resumed and proceed; and again, whether the 1st of September should be the next day of session.—To both of which questions the answer was, approved.

There were thirteen prelates, chiefly imperial, although not of Germany, present, with the three legates and an imperial ambassador.

Session XII.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Prorogation of Session.

A DISAGREEMENT between Henry of France and Julius of Rome respecting the duchy of Parma, dissipated all the goodwill which had commenced between these sovereigns; and the former knowing how to wound most effectually, published an edict, that all his bishops should put themselves in readiness for a national council; and the order was presented even in Rome to his prelates there.

From Sarpi we learn, that the protestants were induced to think of attending the council, and to prepare accordingly: but they desired a safe conduct in the name, not of the emperor, but of the council; for they remembered the council of Constance and the fate of Huss. The case of the council of Basil was a precedent for their demand *.

The emperor sent three ambassadors to attend the council, one for the empire, one for Spain, and the third for his own states. He likewise sent many bishops from Germany; so that the procession on the day of session amounted to sixty-four.

That day, September the 1st, arrived. The business was short. It was simply a decree of prorogation, purporting, that the holy council, on account of the absence of representatives of the illustrious German nation, for the benefit of which in particular the synod was convened, had forborne to proceed; but hoping for a better attendance in future, it appointed the 11th of October ensuing for the next session; and prosecuting † the council in the state in which it was found, having defined the sacraments in general and two particular ones, it decrees, that the eucharist for doctrine, and residence for reformation, shall form the next subjects of discussion; and finally exhorts the fathers to exercise them-

* Ist. iv. † —— prosequendo.

selves in fastings and prayers, that God, being appeased, may reduce the hearts of men to the acknowledgment of the true faith, to the unity of the church, and to the rule of righteous living.

The king of France sent to the council one of his ministers with letters of credence, addressed to the holy fathers of the Tridentine *Convention*, which gave some offence: the elector of Mentz asked, how they would like to be addressed by the protestants as a convention of malignants. The letters asserted, that the council was not general, nor accessible to the king or his bishops; and desired, that the protest against it might be registered, and a copy returned. No answer was then given. The king dismissed the papal nuncio, and published a manifesto, chiefly concerning Parma, in the close of which he professes, that he had all respect for the apostolic see, but that it was not composed of prudent men, and that in short it was nothing more than the pope himself. To save his credit, however, on the contrary side, he published a most severe edict against the heretics and Lutherans, annexing greater punishments than his predecessors had done, in order, continues the Diary, to dissipate the opinion, that his majesty was averse from the apostolic see, and to shut the mouth of all*. So the Almighty Sovereign, who has a rich compensation in store for his faithful ones, allowed them to be tried in the fire of brutal persecution by capricious and unprincipled tyrants!

There were present, according to the list in Le Plat, thirty prelates, besides a greater number than before of ambassadors and electoral princes.

* Lib. iv.

Session XIII.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Eucharist—*Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations—Safe Conduct.

Immediately after the XIIth session, preparations began to be made for the next; and real business was commenced. A general congregation was held, at which the subject discussed was the Eucharist; and articles of the protestants upon the subject were selected for confutation and condemnation. They were ten. Certain regulations were proposed to the theologians in their examinations, conducive both to evidence and to economy in time. They were, to adhere to the testimony of scripture, tradition, the canons, the fathers. This field, although in all conscience wide enough, was too narrow for the scholastic divines, who wished to expatiate without limit in the interminable expanse of their own peculiar logic, or sophistry. They, however, gave their sentiments on the subject before them; and did not fail to triumph over the heretical views of absent opponents. A number of canons were the result.

From Fra Paolo, whom we are following, (for the Diary presents almost nothing,) we understand, that the repose of the council was a little disturbed by the application from the imperial ambassadors, particularly the Count de Montfort, for a safe conduct for the protestants; and it was required that it should be *really* safe. The legate answered with abundance of compliments: but in order to have time to consult Rome, he remitted every thing to the time of the session. It was thought reasonable, that likewise determination on the Eucharist should be deferred, at least as respects the cup. The legate answered in general terms. The pope consented as to the safe conduct and suspense respecting the cup. He wished, however, the council not to be idle, but undertake the consideration of Penance. On the Eucharist there was much disagreement between the Do-

minicans and Franciscans; and it was in consequence determined to adhere to general terms—a principle which is good, bad, or indifferent, according to circumstances. It was likewise proposed to rectify some abuses relative to the Eucharist, particularly the custom at Rome of obliging communicants to hold during the communion a taper lighted, to which was attached a piece of money, which was the priest's perquisite, and without which no one was admitted to communicate.

In the division of Reformation the subject discussed was, episcopal jurisdiction, which is formally examined and at much length by the historian, and on the abuse of appeals. John Grapper, the imperial theologian and canonist, was so urgent and pungent, that it was necessary to put forth something of a vigorous reply, and, with whatever repugnance, to make some concession. The subject of Degradations experienced a similar fate. At a congregation, approaching the time of the session, it was agreed, that the demand of the safe conduct for the protestants was reasonable; and it was thought advisable, that a part of the subject of the Eucharist should be deferred.

At the date of the 7th of October, Don Francisco Vargas, Doctor of Law, and Fiscal of the emperor, and whom he had sent to Trent at this time, in a letter to the bishop of Arras*, writes concerning the rulers of the council, that

* The letters and papers of Vargas, which Le Plat so unworthily repudiates without a reason given, (for he could give none,) were published, first by Dr. Geddes, in his Council of Trent no Free Assembly, 1697, and in French by Le Vassor, at Amsterdam, 1700. Geddes, in the Introductory Discourse, p. 80, says, the originals in Spanish were put into his hands by Dr., afterwards Bp. Stillingfleet, who said they were communicated to him by Sir W. Trumbull, secretary of state, who found them among his grandfather's papers, who was envoy under James I. at Brussels for fifteen years. They came probably from Cardinal Granvelle's secretaries, with whom they were left when he withdrew from the Netherlands. He bought them, but probably with engagement not to publish them during the lives of the parties. Le Vassor refers the incredulous to Sir W. Trumbull in London; and insists, that there is in the letters internal evidence sufficient to prove they are no forgeries.—See Preface. Their

'it is their whole business to abuse the world, by pretend-
'ing that they do hope, and wish that the protestants may
'come, when at the same time they are contriving all the
'ways they can think of to shut the door against them.
'This, so far as I can understand, was the reason likewise
'of precipitating the doctrine of Justification, as they did:
'and whereas they cannot tell but that the protestants may
'come hither, so, were they but certain that they would
'never come, I cannot tell what they might do.' The fiscal, however, was no friend to the protestants, but he understood what was fair play.

When the 11th of October arrived, the thirteenth session, the third under Julius III, was celebrated. After the usual solemnities the archbishop of Sassari preached, as Pallavicino has it, in honour of the most august Eucharist. The decrees were then read; and the first was, *that* of Doctrine, on the Eucharist.

After a short preface of the turgid commonplace, which may readily be anticipated, and which, if it were new, would disgust by its palpable and profane untruth, the council publishes to the world its dogma of the sacrament of the Eucharist, or the Lord's supper, in eight rather extended chapters. It will not be required of us to give even the substance of the whole, which is easily attainable. The 4th and 5th chapters are the most remarkable. The 4th, 'of Transub-
'stantiation,' declares, 'that by the consecration of the bread
'and wine there is made a conversion of the whole substance
'of the bread into the substance of the body of our Lord

authenticity has been placed beyond all doubt by the extracts made by Dr. J. L. Villanueva in his Vida Literaria. Those extracts are from additional letters of Vargas, and of a later period, when he was ambassador at Rome. The spirit and language of them are in precise conformity with those published by Geddes and Le Vassor. The documents, with other very important ones, relative to the Council of Trent, preserved in various public libraries in Spain, as we have observed before, are presented in an Appendix at the end of his second volume. The Rev. Blanco White has made the English reader acquainted with the most important part of them in his unanswerable Practical and Internal Evidence against (R) Catholicism. 2d ed. Append. I.

'Jesus Christ, and of the whole substance of the wine into the 'substance of his blood; which conversion is suitably and 'properly called by the holy Catholic church Transubstantia-'tion.' The 5th, 'on the worship and reverence to be paid to 'this most holy sacrament,' declares, 'that, therefore, there is 'no room for doubt, that all the faithful of Christ, according 'to the custom ever received in the Catholic church, may (or 'ought to) pay, with veneration, to this most sacred sacra-'ment the worship of Latria, which is due to the true God; 'nor is it to be less adored because it was instituted by Christ 'the Lord to be taken, for we believe the same God to be 'present in it, whom the eternal Father introduces,' &c.

Eleven canons on the same subject are subjoined. We will extract only the 1st and 2d. The 1st runs: 'If any 'one shall deny, that in the sacrament of the most holy 'eucharist is contained truly, really, and substantially, the 'body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our 'Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore entire Christ; but shall 'say, that he is in it only as in a sign, or in a figure, or by 'virtue; let him be anathema.' The 2d is in these words: 'If any one shall say, that in the most sacred sacrament of 'the eucharist the substance of bread and wine remains to-'gether with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; 'and shall deny *that* wonderful and singular conversion of 'the whole substance of bread into the body, and of the 'whole substance of wine into the blood, and the species of 'bread and wine alone remaining; which conversion indeed 'the Catholic church most aptly calls Transubstantiation; 'let him be anathema.' The 6th might be noticed as re-peating in a new and stronger form the contents of the 5th chapter of the decree.

The decree of Reformation contains eight chapters. They embrace the obvious personal and official duties of bishops; regulations concerning appeals; the summary degradation of criminal clerics; the cognizance by the bishop of graces referring either to absolution of crime or remission of punish-ment; the prohibition of personal citation of a bishop ex-

cept in the case of deposition or privation; the qualifications required in witnesses deposing against a bishop; and the reservation of the higher causes of bishops to the chief pontiff.

There follows the decree of Prorogation, as to four remaining articles on the Eucharist, at the discussion of which it was desirable that the protestants might be present, for whose coming and attendance a safe conduct was appointed and prepared.

The form of it is then given, by which the council grants full liberty to the protestants of coming, staying, and returning, with every necessary clause, which it desires to have considered as expressed, as far as regards the holy synod itself; and promises, that in the case of crimes, even heretical, committed by them, they may choose judges favourable to them.

The sentence, *quantum ad ipsam sanctam synodum spectat*, I have translated and placed so as to make its meaning as ambiguous as the original. The closing sentence too would admit an interpretation, when, if necessary, reduced to practice, not very favourable to the heretic.

The protestants wondered at the prorogation of the consideration of the four articles on the Eucharist being ascribed to a wish expressed on their part; and they complained of the ambiguity of the sentence noticed above, as an intended trap. It was likewise remarked, with surprise and disgust, that when the ambassador of the elector of Brandenburg addressed the council in his master's name in terms of honour, he was interpreted, in the answer, as if the elector, who was of the confession of Augsburg, had made a profession of submission to the council, of which there was no mention; and the conduct of the council was justified by that of a pope in a similar case.

Twenty prelates were present, three abbots, one general, and a large number of theologians, with some monks.

A letter was written by Vargas to his friend the day after this session. He gives an account of it. He represents it

as more solemn than any preceding one: it lasted eight hours; and the oration is applauded. Alluding to the case of the ambassador of the elector of Brandenburg, he says, that there was a promise contained in the speech, that the elector would consent to what his ambassador should approve. Proceeding to the safe conduct, he writes, that the first draught of it was changed and abridged by the legate, and that it really gave the protestants no assurance, that they should not be punished for the offences of their religion: the offer of favourable judges was evasive. The clause quoted above might well excite their jealousy, since the promise of security should have been made for the pope, the emperor, and all other princes and prelates, as was done by the synod of Basil. The decrees of the council of Constance in its 9th session, and that of Sienna, ought, he adds, likewise to have been suspended, as in the case of the Bohemians. And he says, that if the safe conduct is shown to him before it is pronounced, this shall be done; but he represents the legate as very arbitrary in all his proceedings. As to the decree of reformation, he says the contents are 'of so trivial a na-'ture, that many were ashamed to hear them; and had they 'not been wrapped up in good language, they would have 'appeared to the whole world to be what they are; and if 'God does not prevent it, I do not see but that all other 'things will be carried here at this rate.' He expresses his pleasure to hear, that his majesty was coming nigher to them, which would bring his friend so too: he adds, 'his 'majesty's presence may give some life to affairs here.'—More indeed than the council wished for. We shall find him shortly at Inspruck.

The monstrous invention of Rome on the subject of the most sacred rite of Christianity, transubstantiation—this contradiction, not a mystery, this incantation, not a sacrament, this ideal Moloch, on whose altar torrents of human and Christian blood have been poured out in sacrifice—is in the foregoing conciliar enactments as categorically and distinctly enounced, without the specification of bones and sinews,

as could well be expected, or, for truth of representation, be desired. On this cardinal subject, as a principal debated between the two churches, I solicit the patience of the reader for some observations. In the outset I wish to do justice to the opponent party by remarking, that I consider it an unjust charge against the Romanist, that he absolutely and altogether rejects the testimony of the senses, in consequence of his holding the doctrine of transubstantiation. He may assert, that he admits the fidelity of the testimony of the senses as freely as any other division of dogmatists. He excepts only one instance. He could not come to the knowledge or belief of that one instance, but by means of the senses. He must have read with his eyes, or heard with his ears, the very declaration, which causes his belief of the doctrine in question. As Christians in general, who believe the miracles recorded in the gospel, do not for that reason reject the belief of what is called the ordinary course of nature, or the generally established succession of causes and effects, so the person who receives transubstantiation allows the general, it might be said universal, authority of the senses, this one case excepted, which he may suppose is excepted for the most complete exercise of the submission of the understanding to Him who gave it, and invested it with all its powers. The Romanist, therefore, is responsible only for the single exception made by him. The question then generally is, how far he is entitled to make that exception. And the instance here is not mystery, but contradiction. It has no real analogy with the doctrine of the Trinity, because *that* is a subject in its essence confessedly beyond the reach of human intellect, and the respects in which one is three, and three one, are not the same. In transubstantiation, the natural subject and the human one, although connected with the divine, are intelligible, as far as the argument is concerned; and so is the conversion of the one into the other, which, if the senses are in any degree to be trusted, is not a fact, but contrary to it. The question is, are the senses deceived? It is useless to fly to omnipo-

tence: omnipotence cannot work a contradiction without proclaiming its own weakness, which is itself a contradiction. Omnipotence cannot destroy itself. To reason a little *à priori*, upon which in the present course we are driven, the fidelity of the senses in their reports is supported by the perfections, particularly the benevolence, of the Deity, who, it is fairly presumed, would not give to his intellectual creatures a guide, upon which he obliged them to depend, by giving them no other, if he intended that, in one important point, that guide should deceive them*. And it might well be doubted whether a doctrine could or would be commanded by the God of truth, which he has made it impossible for his creatures properly to believe. To submit is not to believe.

But the main, and the only substantial question is, is the doctrine of transubstantiation revealed and commanded in the New Testament? This is the decisive question. The doctrine is founded upon the absolute literality of the words of the institution of the Lord's supper by its divine author. —*This is my body;* and so of the wine or cup. The whole argument turns upon the verb substantive IS. Now it is not denied, that this word is used to express other notions than that of strict identity; and that in parables and elsewhere it is used in the sense of *signifies*. But it has been said, that a sacrament is not a parable. True, one thing is not another: but is there not precisely the same reason in the one application as in the other to interpret the words figuratively? and is not the palpable absurdity of the opposite course direction sufficient, that *that* should be done? But to leave a line of argument, which would bear triumphant amplification, we ask one question—in what language, antient or modern, does IS mean CONVERTED INTO? It will be answered, that the doctrine of conversion is an inference—the substance is at one instant one thing, at the next it is another; therefore there

* See Stillingfleet's Origin. Sacræ, book ii, ch. viii, sec. iii—v, where this theory is ably stated.

must be a conversion. But this is wandering from the word; the word is IS. IS signifies, either present existence, or permanent existence, as in a proposition which is permanently true. And when it is affirmed that one thing IS another, it is so in one of these two senses; but in neither is there conversion. The Romanist, however, whose doctrine now considered stands upon strict literality, and can stand upon nothing else, for, the moment it quits that fastness, it wanders into the region of figure, which is destructive to it, is hardly sufficiently aware, that, if the body of Christ (to say nothing of the blood, and of the *cup* which IS equally the *New Covenant*) is really, substantially eaten, *that* same body which was crucified, here is at once, and he cannot escape it, the gross cannibalism, which he repels as the most atrocious calumny upon his faith. But let him escape as he can without coming into the enemy's camp, and surrendering all his arms. He wishes to do the thing without its consequences: and so every professor of transubstantiation does, and must, disavow a doctrine, for the disbelief of which his church has sent thousands to the flames, while she disbelieves it herself. Her sons may shrink from or resent the imputation of such an atrocity as feeding upon a literal human body in the sacred feast prepared for them: they may turn their back upon the authorized expositions of what they call catholic doctrine, and expunge from them the bones and sinews*, and by rights should do much more, of their presumed and divine Saviour: but to do this they must become what they esteem heretics. They have absolutely entered the regions of figure, than which no spectre from the other world ever

* There is not in the whole compass of literary or moral delinquency an act more disgraceful than that of the Rev. rhetorician, Jer. Donovan, in his translation of the Tridentine Catechism, p. 226, where he translates —'The pastor will also explain to the faithful, that in the sacrament are 'contained not only the true body of Christ, and all the constituents of a 'true body,'—('as *bones and sinews*' OMITTED,)—'but also Christ whole 'and entire.' The words in the original and the first edition are, 'veluti 'ossa et nervos,' p. 142.

terrified sinner more, than this does the church of Rome. To expect relief from the word Presence, which will suit any subject, from the presence of Christ where two or three are assembled in his name, to the fabulous change of bread and wine into his human and divine person, is only to proclaim their discomfiture.

'*Brad.* My Lord, I believe Christ is present there to 'the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I 'plainly and flatly tell you I believe it not.

'*L. Chan.* We ask no question of transubstantiation, 'but of Christ's presence*.'

Session XIV.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Penance and Extreme Unction—*Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations.

The subjects to be determined by the ensuing session were, the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. The theologians, with whom the examination of doctrine regularly and uniformly began, adhered in the present instance to the rules established, of drawing their proofs from Scripture, tradition, councils, the authority of the pope, and the consent of the Catholic church. They were enjoined to deliver their sentiments with brevity; and the order of speaking, to avoid confusion, was, that the theologians of the pontiff should take the first place; those of the emperor were to follow; and so on to the secular and regular clerics. There were to be two congregations each day. Warm disputes agitated several of these congregations, arising from the known variety of opinion in the individuals or classes composing

* Fox, Acts and Monuments, iii, 240, last edition. The reader, who knows any thing, knows that this is a part of the examination of the martyr Bradford by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

them. Of the essence and parts of penance the sentiments of the disputants were in many cases violently dissonant. From Fra Paolo we learn in particular, that an examination of the fathers was recommended; as it would be attended with inconvenience, if upon subsequent examination it should be discovered, that they were not unanimous on some points, which might be decreed. The legate, however, settled this matter, by observing, that the consent of the majority should be esteemed the consent of the whole. Abundance of heretical positions on the two subjects before the fathers were discussed and condemned.

A letter of Vargas, of the 28th of October, confirms what is stated of the daily occupation of the divines, and applauds the manner in which Malvenda acquitted himself. He adds the information, that several protestants, eight divines, and others, were expected in a few days, which, he says, creates no little alarm at Trent; and he wonders at their simplicity in trusting the safe conduct. He does not anticipate satisfaction to either party from the proceedings of the council, and hears that the protestants mean to revive the matter of Justification, with some others. In short, he believes, that if affairs proceed in their present course, the protestants will return from the council only more exasperated. The legate acts with the utmost arrogance, and declares, that after the next session nothing more shall be done in Reformation, but that the council, which he means to bring to a close in July next, shall be employed until then in Doctrine only *.

On Extreme Unction the fathers were nearly agreed. There was one, who, from its being recorded by St. Mark,

* In the French edition of Vargas's Letters, &c. at the end of this, are appended extracts from the memoir of the Royal Council of Castile, which in the first place insists upon the pope's support of the Inquisition, since it is so necessary for the kingdoms of Spain; Porque el officio de la santa Inquisicion es muy necessario en estos Regnos, conviene ser muy favorecido. The passion of the Spaniards for their Inquisition, says the editor, is deplorable. Let them enjoy it all! P. 167.

that the apostles anointed the sick before the last supper, inferred an argument for the doctrine, which procured for it the application of the term *insinuated*.

The affairs of reformation, although multitudinous, are of minor importance, both on account of the subject, and because all the ultimate provisions were illusory.

The Diary, in its account of the presence of two ambassadors of the Duke of Wirtemberg at the council, states, that they declined any particular reverence to, and refused to recognize, the ministers of the pope, who, when he was apprized of it, wrote to the legate, that he should admit the ambassadors, that he should observe the bull of Paul III, and be firm in avoiding middle and temperate measures, as the plague. He did not desire the legate to transfer or dissolve the council, but, if he saw occasion, to give business enough on doctrine: which would have the two good effects, of depriving the Lutherans of any hope of concord but by instant submission, and of incensing the prelates against them, and occupying them so well, that they should have no time to think of reform. If there should be necessity, the authority sought by the bishops might be conceded, but with all possible reserve.

The emperor, as we learn from Sarpi, arrived at Inspruck at the beginning of November. The pontiff comforted himself, that, if there was war, the emperor would have no leisure for the council; and if there were peace, he could overwhelm the council with German and Italian prelates.

On the 12th of November Vargas writes, that reformation was no more talked of at Trent than if it were never again to be mentioned; and that the legate was studiously filling up the time with doctrines so near *that* of the session, that there would be no opportunity of considering the subjects. He adds, that two protestants had arrived, he supposes, as spies, like the Bohemians, to see how far they might depend upon promises. The divines continued their

disputations to the end of October; and then the bishops voted upon the articles: after *that* would come the formation of the decrees. He observes, near the conclusion, 'If a session were to last half a year, it would be the same 'thing as it is now; so that we shall have no cause to 'wonder at any thing that shall be done here, but shall 'have great cause to be thankful for what they shall leave 'undone.'

The fourteenth session was celebrated on the 25th of November; and after the usual ceremonies the bishop of St. Mark, who had formerly been prevented by a cold, preached.

The present work is supplemental both to the regular and professed histories, and to the theological examinations, of the Council of Trent; and therefore I shall confine myself, in the reference to the most voluminous portion which we have yet encountered of decrees and canons at one session, to a simple recitation of the division and heads.

The decree of Penance consists of nine chapters; that of Extreme Unction of three. The canons of the former are fifteen; those of the latter four. I just notice the 6th canon of penance, as anathematizing him, who affirms, that the custom of secretly confessing to the priest alone is a human invention.

The decree of Reformation consists of fourteen chapters, and respects the duties of bishops; the habits of clerics; the prohibition of orders to voluntary homicides; the union of benefices; patronage; presentation.

The last of these chapters announces the 25th of January of the next year, 1552, for the next session, the business of which is to be, to determine concerning the sacrifice of the mass, to settle the sacrament of order, and to prosecute the subject of reformation.

Le Plat has not enumerated the persons present at this session, but says that they were the same as at the last.

The Diary says, that the legate prohibited the printing

of the resolutions of the council, but that they were obtained and published in Germany *.

Few readers can be so unacquainted with ecclesiastical history as not to know, that the modern and antient penance, or penitence, are two widely different things, even as are modern and antient tradition. This is the first consideration necessary for coming to a legitimate conclusion respecting these and many other doctrines of Rome. For information, however, on the subject of penance in particular, the discourse of Allix on that subject, showing (as the title proceeds) how the doctrine of it in the church of Rome makes void true repentance, will abundantly satisfy the impartial inquirer. It is among the quarto tracts published in opposition to the popery which a crowned bigot and tyrant was attempting to impose upon this country at the latter part of the 17th century. I would likewise here do justice to the merit of the *Text Book of Popery*, comprising a brief history of the Council of Trent, a translation of its doctrinal decrees, &c., by J. M. Cramp, which, once for all, I would recommend as a complete exposure of the imposture of the papal religion, by authorities the most unexceptionable, the most decisive, the most condemning. The doctrine of the apostate church need but be fairly seen to be detested and repudiated. On the subject of Confession, the author has referred to the impure and vitiating tendency of a certain form of examination prescribed, in a popular and accredited work, the Garden of the Soul, by Dr. Challoner, on the seventh (according to the Roman reckoning, sixth) commandment. Matter similarly corrupting and disgusting may be seen in Dr. Doyle's Catechism for youth, or Christian doctrine, &c., p. 117, or an Abridgment of Christian Doctrine †, almost a repetition of the former,

* —— il legato prohibì che non si stampassero le resolutioni prese, ma in Germania furono havuto e publicato. iv.

† I wish to notice the edition of this work now in my hands, and printed in Dublin by Grace, printer and bookseller to the General Confraternity of

under the head of the seven deadly sins. There seems to be a judicial insensibility, indeed propensity, to impurity in the papalized mind, which astonishes minds not so tainted. The natural apology founded upon the practice of rude and simple times, will not avail those who live in times in which the secondary meaning of the same words is not the same. The attempted justification of the act by reference to the language or representations of scripture, which repel the parallelism, is an additional illustration and proof of the debasing operation of papal principles on the moral sensibility. The penitential canons of the Roman church, although capable of some extenuation, are utterly unfit to be perused; and the system of absolution which they produced, particularly the pecuniary taxation, which amounted to the price of crime, has justly rendered Rome a proverb and an abomination to all but her own world. On parting with the subject I would repeat, that no practice is justified by assigning to it, although with truth, an innocent, or in some respects even a laudable, origin, since there is hardly an iniquity recorded in history, of which the same may not be affirmed *.

the Christian Doctrine, but WITHOUT A DATE. Why is this? Because in p. 49 there are added, in a parenthesis, the words, '(though the angel had 'once before willed him not to do it in regard of his apostolical dignity, 'chap. xix., 10,)' where the angel in the Revelation forbids John to adore him. Protestants had observed the absence of the passage in earlier editions. By omitting the date therefore of the volume, the disgrace was escaped of proclaiming its own artifice; particularly as to the time, and consequently occasion, of its insertion.

* See Taxatio Papalis throughout, or Life and Pont. of St. Pius V, pp. 263—280. The reader will see there, with what palpable ignorance, or dishonesty, or both, the late Dr. Milner could defend his church.

By the Romish prelates of Ireland on a late solemn occasion, and by British senators, it has been asserted, that the Absolution of the church of England, and that of the church of Rome, are the same. And certainly, if it can be proved, that doctrines, in the main substance almost diametrically opposite, yet agreeing in a single subordinate circumstance, are identical—if the absolution of our church be an integral part of a sacrament, the fictitious one of penance; if auricular confession and consequent absolution be, not voluntary, but compulsory; if the absolution be not declarative only, but judicial, in the person of the pronouncer—then, and not till then, can the alle-

Session XV.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Prorogation of Session—Safe Conduct.

The subjects announced in the last session for establishment in the ensuing one were the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of Order, and Reformation. These duly employed the industry of the fathers; but the principal business of the council, in the intermediate time, was the reception given to the ambassadors of the different protestant princes preparatory to the attendance of their divines at the Synod, and the ultimate submission of their subjects, or adherents, to its decrees.

When it is considered as an indisputable fact, that it was the fixed determination of Rome to surrender no one essential article of her peculiar creed, or to make one real refor-

gation be supported with some appearance of truth and decency. Dr. now Bp. Philpotts, in his Letters to C. Butler, Esq., has disposed of the insulse calumny in a somewhat different, and his own triumphant way. See Letter ix. These letters, and especially the supplemental one, should be highly valued by every *faithful* protestant, as a just, however severe, exposure of the palpably unprincipled contempt of truth of Drs. Doyle and Murray, in particular, at their examination by the parliamentary commissioners in 1824 and 1825, together with the treacherous collusion of the commissioners themselves. With this partiality to the papal prelacy, their browbeating and petulant illiberality to every protestant is strongly and disgracefully contrasted. Had the names been prefixed to each interrogatory, the effect would have been somewhat dramatic; and he who, in the case of his grace of Dublin, conducted the inquisition in the Athanasian Creed, which might have been done as pertinently in the multiplication table, would probably have discovered, that his banter was in perfect character. I just add, that the argument of the letter-writer in proof of the *feudality* of the episcopal oath of allegiance to the pope, from the clause *salvo meo ordine*, so artfully evaded by the interested Irish doctors, and so justly interpreted by himself, as excepting personal service by arms, (which would be nonsense, except in a feudal engagement,) is established beyond dispute by the gloss upon that clause in the original oath in the Decretals of Gregory IX. l. ii. tit. 24, ed. Venet. 1486—*Secundum quod pertinet ad meum honorem: quia non cum armis.* Were these masters in their Israel *ignorant*?—See, on the whole subject, an account of the Episcopal Oath, &c., subjoined to the Life of Pius V.

mation of importance, and which would cost her any thing, however liberal she might be, for the purpose of more effectual deception, of minor, simply apparent, and plausible concessions; and that on the side of those, who having *formerly*, and some of them long, lived in the atmosphere of her corruption, were as well acquainted with it as those who *continued* to live in it, and, speaking of the general body, could have no motive for a change which would cost them much, but a conscientious feeling of the urgent duty of making it, and would therefore be doubly armed against the concession of any essential points in the controversy between them and the forsaken church—it is scarcely conceivable, that two parties, so arrayed in respect of each other, should ever unite in so solemn and public an adjustment of their differences as that of a general council.

The Venetian historian must be our authority for any thing concerning doctrine. Immediately after the session was a general congregation to dispose of the sacrifice of the mass, the communion of the cup, and that of children. Although decrees had been formed on these subjects for the session of the 11th of October, they were discussed afresh, as if nothing had been done. The fathers held their meeting twice a day to expedite matters; thirteen canons were formed, heresies were condemned, and there were four chapters of a decree on Doctrine prepared. All was finished about Christmas; but as there were no decrees passed in the ensuing session, the author declines entering into further detail.

Our manuscript authority informs us, that the ambassadors of the Duke of Wittemberg made their appearance at the council, with instructions to present a declaration of their doctrine to the fathers. But the legate was instructed by the pontiff to say, that it was not convenient that such doctrine should be received by the council, but that the protestants should come humbly to the council and declare their opinions, and not expect any other safe conduct than

what had been given, which was the best that could be given. The same was said to the imperial ambassador.

The five ambassadors of Strasburg and other cities wished to present their doctrine, and were desired to wait for the coming of those of Saxony.

These latter came with many theologians, and demanded a safe conduct, similar to that of Basil,—that the proceedings should be suspended and re-examined, that the pope should have no authority over, but be subject to, the council, and that the bishops should be released from their oath, in order that they might speak their minds without bias or restraint. They were answered, that the safe conduct should remain, that it was not right that four secretaries should disturb a council, and that they should receive public audience, but that they must acknowledge the legate and nuncios; that what they required about the pope was impertinent and heretical; and that death would be preferred to listening to them.

The legate was persuaded to receive the ambassadors at a general congregation in his own house, which might be construed into an acknowledgment. The protestants renewed their claim of a safe conduct, like that of Basil, which allowed a decisive voice, the decision of scripture, the private exercise of their religion, and security against any injury or vituperation of their doctrine.

At one of the general congregations * the Saxon ambassadors, giving the title of most reverend and apostolic to the fathers, said, that the elector Maurice desired for his theologians the same safe conduct as was given by the Council of Basil. The Wittemberg ambassadors followed, remonstrating against the injustice; that their doctrine, which was opposite to that of the pope, should be judged by his adherents. The legate replied, that an answer would be given in due time.

* The date in the MS. is January 25, but it is not likely, if possible, that it would be on the day of the session.

In a letter of Vargas of the 7th of December, the legate is represented as insisting that the Protestants should, in the first instance, promise submission to the council, which, he says, would be to drive them from the council. Of the date of the 29th of December is a very long letter, representing the object of the pope to be, either suspension or speedy termination of the council. He protests strongly, and at great length, against the suspension, but concludes with the opinion, that suspension is preferable to termination. In the view of the difficulty he thinks it would have been a happy thing if the council had never met. The war proceeding, there was the more necessity for the continuance of the council.

The fifteenth session was held on the 25th of January, 1552. Service being performed, and the sermon preached by Campeggio, Bishop of Majorca, the decree to the following purport was read:—That the council,—having prepared matters relating to the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of order, as well as four articles on the eucharist, seeing the Protestants who were expected were not come, and an assurance was given that with a more ample safe conduct they would,—desiring nothing more earnestly than the recovery of opposers to the Catholic faith, and obedience to the church, has deferred the fore-mentioned decrees to the next session of the 19th of March, and gives the safe conduct, of which a copy is subjoined. It orders the sacrament of matrimony to be examined, and the business of reformation to be proceeded in.

The safe conduct is about half as long again as the preceding one, but not according with the expressed wishes of the protestants. It gives full liberty to all of the protestant persuasion who shall come to the council; and promises, that the subjects to be discussed shall be treated according to the scriptures, traditions, &c.; that criminals shall be judged only by those of their party; and that no advantage will be taken of them by means of the authority of any council, particularly those of Constance and Sienna.

A letter of Vargas, written on this very day, throws a good

deal of light upon the character of the council, and its chief agent in particular. The legate was induced with much difficulty to make the safe conduct as little objectionable as it was; but the writer observes, that it did not go to the extent of giving license to the protestant worship as that of Basil did. He thinks, however, that the protestants ought to be content with it; and that Melancthon and his companions would have nothing to plead in their excuse for not appearing. So radical is the intolerance with which popery poisons her most liberal subjects!

The names of fourteen prelates are given by Le Plat, as attendants at this abortive session.

Session XVI.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Suspension—Subsequent Events.

The fathers had commenced their labours upon the subject proposed to them. But the emperor, being requested by the protestants to interfere, that the disputations should be suspended until the arrival of their theologians, despatched an ambassador to the pope to induce him to comply with the request. However, in a general congregation it was determined, that such suspension should take place, and that the business of the council should wait its pleasure to be resumed. The pontiff was much offended with this anticipation, and ordered business at all events to proceed*.

* In a MS. collection of letters of various pontiffs which I have consulted, occurs one of Julius III. to Crescentio, in which speaking of the proposals of the Spanish prelates, he says, 'that however well suited they might be for Spain, they would create confusion in the rest of Christianity.' His holiness proceeds to declare, that he does not wish to decline reformation, nor with his predecessor postpone it by proposing, that the secular princes should reform themselves at the same time; but, add she, 'we desire 'to begin from ourselves without delay, and that every abuse may be re-'moved, but without taking away the power which we have immediately

To the information in print that, about the end of February, the Saxon ambassadors had orders to continue their negotiations with the council, that it was reported that the king of France had entered into a league with the protestants, and that a congregation was held deferring the day of session to the 1st of May; the diary adds, partly in conformity with the source just mentioned, that the Elector of Treves had left the council, owing to some disgust taken with the protestants, or, as was supposed, to arrange with the French king*; the Saxon ambassadors likewise fleeing from Trent, and the electors also taking their leave.

Four theologians, however, arrived from Wittemberg and Strasburg, and demanded an answer to their proposal from the legate, who told them that it would be settled in the next session. He was then beginning to be much indisposed.

In the war of the protestants with the emperor which had commenced, the Elector of Saxony took Augsburg; and the whole Tyrol put itself in arms, and repaired to Inspruck. Upon this all the Italians retired to Verona by the Adige, and the protestants departed. The nuncios sent to Rome an account of the illness of the legate; and authority came by a papal bull, as Fra Paolo informs us, to suspend the council. The session was accordingly fixed for the 28th of

'from God. Ma volemo che si incominci da noi senza induggiare, et si cor-'regghino e tolghino via tutti gli abusi, ma non si tolghi già la potestà, la 'quale havemo immediate da Dio.' The letter is dated January 16, 1552. This is the pontiff's *own testimony* concerning himself.

* In a letter of the 26th of February, 1552, Vargas writes, 'I am appre-'hensive lest the pope, finding himself pressed hard by both protestants and 'catholics, may strike up a peace with the French; and I am very much 'mistaken if he and his ministers are not at this time plotting some bold 'thing, which nothing but fear will keep them from executing.' He had just before said, that the coming of the protestants would enable them to surmount all their difficulties, that is, I suppose, if they would be cajoled into surrendering and submitting. In an earlier letter Vargas discovers a truly papal mind. Speaking of the council, 'believing that Christ will not 'suffer them to err in their determinations, I shall bow down my head to 'them, and believe all the matters of faith that shall be decided by them: 'I pray God every body else may do the same.' Nov. 26, 1551. Geddes, p. 43.

April, as it appeared inexpedient to keep to the day which had been appointed, the 1st of May.

At this precipitated session, the sixteenth, a decree was read to the following effect:—that when the council appeared to be raising its head, suddenly wars and tumults were kindled by the arch enemy in Germany, which produced a general departure from Trent; that, therefore, the council was conditionally suspended for two years; and that, in the mean time, the council exhorted all Christian princes and prelates to observe, and cause to be observed, everything hitherto enacted and decreed in the holy council.

Le Plat gives the names of twelve bishops who protested against the suspension, all Spaniards but one, a Sardinian. The rest of his list I do not understand, as it appears to be supplemental to the whole number who had attended during all the sessions under Julius III. There are only two archbishops, and three bishops, Greeks, and one German.

The legate was not present. He remained ill at Verona, and shortly after died. His arbitrary and irritable disposition, upon which the perplexities and vexations of such an assembly as that at Trent would operate with frightful effect, were doubtless the immediate cause of his premature dissolution.

The concluding portion of the decree was censured at Rome, as assuming the authority properly belonging to the pope.

The emperor was reduced to great difficulties by the war, the success of which on the part of the protestant princes enabled them to recall their preachers, and reinstate the confession of Augsburg in its former authority, which put an end to the Interim. The peace of Passau, in 1552, did not hasten the resumption of the council*.

The death of Edward VI. of England, the accession of Mary I., the marriage of this princess with Philip, son of the emperor, and the reconciliation of this kingdom to the

* For this fact see Sarpi.

Roman see, revived the hopes of the papacy with respect to a dominion so lately wrested from its grasp.

In 1555 was assembled a diet at Augsburg, where Ferdinand, presiding in the name of the emperor, recommended a colloquy for the settlement of the public religion. This displeased the pope, who lamented that he had always to contend either with a council, or with a diet, or with a colloquy; but he rendered thanks to God, that if he was afflicted as respects Germany, he was consoled by the returning obedience of England. He sent, however, into Germany the cardinal Morone, to procure that, after the example of England, it might acknowledge its error, and, above all things, dismiss the thoughts of a colloquy.

Morone was recalled to Rome by the death of the pope, who was succeeded by his former colleague, the second legate, cardinal della S. Croce, who retained his name, and, as pontiff, became Marcellus II. He seemed to have been well disposed to reform, but was speedily withdrawn from his dignity and his good intentions: these would probably with time have dwindled into nothing. He reigned but twenty-one days.

His successor, Paul IV, was a very different person. He was elected against the will of the emperor, who, in the diet of Augsburg, announced a liberty in religion, of which his holiness told him he would make him repent. Ferdinand called a diet at Vienna, and, in consideration of a contribution against the Turk, allowed to Austria and Bavaria the communion of the cup, and unrestrained eating of flesh.

The pope began his pontificate with the institution of a congregation of 150 cardinals, prelates, and others, divided into three classes, to whom were proposed printed inquiries, copies of which were sent to all the princes. A congregation assembled on the 26th of March, in which the subject debated was, that of receiving money for the performance of spiritual offices, which the pope resolved to prohibit by a bull. This, however, was not executed, because it was said such a regulation required the authority of a council. The

pope insisted upon his own superiority, and that of the servants by whom he was surrounded at Rome.

In 1556 Charles V. retired to a monastery, and exhibited to the world the humiliating contrast of a temporal prince resigning a secular for a religious life, and, on the other hand, a spiritual one in his old age, abandoning himself to worldly pomp and pride, and the attempt to plunge all Europe into war.

His holiness incarcerated cardinal Morone and the bishop of Modena, as suspected of heresy; and, depriving cardinal Pole of the legation of England, cited him before the inquisition. He had already imprisoned the bishop of Cava, his friend.

The kings of France and Spain united in inflicting death upon presumed heretics. The protestants, however, held a convention in the suburbs of Paris, where they established many ecclesiastical regulations.

The king of France, Henry II, died about the middle of the year 1559, and the pope followed him in August. The latter was one of those at whose death the world, for its own sake, has a right to rejoice. The public indignation of the city vented itself, on the occasion, upon every memorial of this man of the inquisition and of blood. It is recorded, as a counsel of his, that more dependence was to be placed, for religious adjustment, upon the holy tribunal than upon a council, which, he said, had always done more harm than good. The world owes to him the first formal and authoritative publication of an Index of prohibited Books, with suitable penalties. It appeared in the ominous year of his death*.

In the congregations, novendiali, it was resolved that it was necessary to restore the council.

In the interval between the death of the last, and the election of a new pontiff, which was considerable, owing to the disturbed state of the city, Philip, king of Spain, arrived in his own country, and, having inured himself to the shedding of christian blood in England, he put the same means in ex-

* See an account of this engine of darkness and tyranny in the Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, &c., pp. 39—53.

ecution in Spain for the extinction of what his ignorance esteemed heresy; and by the instrumentality of the infernal tribunal, with its Autos de Fe, consumed in the flames some of the noblest and best blood in his kingdom.

On the 24th of December, 1559, cardinal Giovanni Angelo de' Medici was created pope with the name of Pius IV. Shortly after his elevation, he conferred with his cardinals respecting the resumption of the council; and, particularly, on the 3d of June in the following year, assembled all the ambassadors in Rome, and proposed Trent as the place. The proposal was applauded. His holiness wrote to all the nuncios in different courts; but in speaking of the council he did not fail to enumerate several impediments and difficulties arising from the disposition of princes, or from the circumstances of different places in the neighbourhood of Trent. On the 29th of November was published the bull for convening the council, and nuncios were despatched to all the princes, even to those of England and Muscovy, as well as the protestant heretics, to invite them to the council; the pontiff observing, that it became him to humble himself even to heretics, in order to gain souls to Christ. Against this bull Vergerio wrote an invective *.

* There was, in 1553, a very suitable tract published by this able and conscientious convert, entitled, Concilium non modo Tridentinum, sed omne Papisticum perpetuo fugiendum esse omnibus piis. Autore Vergerio. Anno M.D.LIII. It contains, what were never before found together, which is the alleged reason for the publication, several pieces absolutely necessary to enable the protestants of the time to form a just judgment of the real state of the case and their own—such as, the safe conduct proposed—that of Basil—the oath of the bishops—that of the pope—the canon that faith is not to be kept with heretics—the catalogue of heretics lately published, &c., to the number of eighteen. As a motto is prefixed:—

MUSCULUS.

In Concilio Tridentino
- Causa dijudicanda quæ? *Controversia inter Papistas et Lutheranos.*
- Judices qui? *Papa cum suis conjuratis Episcopis et Prælatis, seductionis a Lutheranis annos supra 30 accusati.*
- Accusatores qui? *Iidem qui et judices.*
- Rei qui? *Lutherani, Papatus accusatores.*
- Damnabuntur qui? *Nec judices, nec accusatores Lutheranorum, sed Lutherani, accusatores Papistarum.*

In

On the death of Francis II, Charles IX, his brother, ascended the throne of France. By the advice of his parliament, the young king, or his mother, ordered all the prelates of the kingdom to put themselves in readiness to go to Trent.

Two papal nuncios were desired by the emperor and the king of Bohemia to attend the diet of Naumburg, to invite the protestant princes to the council, who answered, that they would not refuse, on condition that the word of God should be the judge, that the bishops should be released from their oath, and that their theologians should be on an equality with the rest.

The nuncio Commendone was sent to the king of Denmark, who said, that neither his father nor he had ever had any dealings with the pope, and he did not wish any communication with him. Martinengo, who had received a similar commission to the queen of England, was denied admittance, with the intelligence that the pope had no authority in her dominions, and that without the consent of her parliament she could not allow him an audience.

The French protestants were so pressing for communion under both kinds, that the pope, after ineffectually negotiating and shuffling for some time, was obliged at last to refer the matter to the council.

We leave now the guide by whom we have been feebly assisted, for the more accessible, and at the same time more minute and satisfactory one, the History of the Council of

In 1556, the same writer put forth, anonymously, a work of a good deal of force and pungency under the title, Actiones Duæ Secretarii Pontificii: quarum altera disputat: An Papa Paulus IV debeat cogitari de instaurando Concilio Tridentino (magna enim est spes de pace): altera verò, an vi et armis possit deinde imperare protestantibus ipsius Concilii Decreta. Under his fictitious character the author impresses the hopelessness of the renewal of the council for the end in view, and has ably stated the artful and ensnaring variation of the safe conduct offered to the Protestants, from that which they required of Basil. And the hopes from force, in the second Actio, he proves to be very unfounded. In 1559, he added a third Actio, confirming this. See concerning this work Freytag Adparatus Litt. tom. iii., pp. 532—5.

Trent, which is sufficient designation*. The time for the re-opening of the council, which had been appointed for Easter day, in 1561, was drawing nigh. It was necessary for his holiness to select his legates. The choice fell upon Hercole Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, and another, for whom, on account of illness, was substituted cardinal Seripando. The affairs of France in respect of religion, particularly the colloquy of Poissy†, agitated the pope violently, and made him welcome a council as the least of the evils with which he saw himself surrounded. He exerted himself, therefore, to give a beginning to the renewed council. He increased the number of legates, by the addition of Ludovico Simonetta, a great canonist, and Marco di Altemps, his

* Fra Paolo, v. 68, &c., in Courayer's Translation.

† For the most satisfactory account of this colloquy, see the Rev. E. Smedley's History of the Reformed Religion in France, vol. i. ch. v. throughout. Before the appearance of the present work, this interesting portion of ecclesiastical history in English was a desideratum; and it is a gratification to the Christian and reading public, that it is so well supplied. If the succeeding volume equal that which has appeared, all true protestants will have cause to rejoice. It will, however, by some be regretted, that the conduct of those to whom the name of Calvinist was applied, not from the adoption of the main and most obnoxious doctrine, but from the services and general Christianity of a great and good man, is sometimes, particularly in the accounts of the synods of those persecuted Christians, both censured and represented in a way which the better reflexion of the able author would not perhaps perfectly approve. The ministers who were principally concerned in these synods, seem to have acted most conscientiously under the influence of the fear of God; and it is difficult to conceive how a conscientious clergyman of the church of England, explaining the obligation 'to renounce the pomps and vanities of this wicked world,' could have expressed himself in a manner essentially different from that which these holy men adopted. It may be not uninstructive to learn how one striking incident of this important conference is represented by the Venetian, Milledoni. Teodoro Besa heretico, con 15 suoi seguaci, alla presenza del Ré, Reina, e Re di Navarra, . . . diede una scrittura a sua M^ta. Christ^ma. della sua fede, che era quella del Calvino sacramentario, e la ponderò passo per passo, e quando fù al passo ove si niega il santissimo sacramento, ognuno si mutò di colore, e il Cardinal di Tornone disse alla Regina, che non sopportasse tal biastema alla presenza del Re suo figliolo. Onde il Besa si perse d'animo, e non seppe piu continuare. Did this poor bigot suppose Beza's doctrine to be a *denial of the sacrament*?

nephew. With Stanislao Osio*, who was appointed before, the addition was three: five, therefore, in all†. Simonetta was sent to Trent at the beginning of December, to open the council without delay; but he was unable to do so.

In this manner was passed the ten years' interruption of the celebrated council of Trent. As the present does not pretend to the character of a regular history of that assembly, and still less of the times which intervened between the periods of its actual existence and proceedings, we have contented ourselves with a brief sketch of the events in question, as they seemed necessary to connect the distant histories of the council, and render them sufficiently intelligible. He who would enter into the views, most of them very distant from religious ones, of the parties who from their station and power assumed the management of this professedly religious congress, may find as much as will satisfy him, in the acute, laborious, and generally accurate Venetian, who had access to documents not now accessible, and whose fidelity has been established by the accidental confirmation supplied, by such documents as since his time have been brought to light.

At this time, about the middle of the year, the Christians of the valleys of Piemont, who had been goaded by fresh persecution into self-defence, in opposition however to the admonitions of their pastors, were favoured by that God, whose cause was theirs likewise, with a victory so complete and bloodless on their part, as to be esteemed miraculous by others as well as themselves. In 1555, anti-christian malevolence had impelled those spiritual janizaries, the monks, with the clergy and bigoted secular rulers, especially the duke of Savoy, to molest them in every possible way; and the passion growing with what produced it, issued in the brutal attack made upon them by the Lord of Trinity,

* He is better known by the Latin form, Hosius. He was bishop of Ermeland, in Eastern Prussia, in Latin, Varmia or Warmia.

† Courayer, in a note on c. lxxviii., observes, that Simonetta had been named as one of the legates at the same time as Seripando and Osio. In the present instance the inaccuracy is trifling.

who was repulsed with shame and slaughter, and a peace honourable for the conquerors was obtained, and confirmed by an edict. We must claim for these meritorious sufferers, for such they were even in their victories, the title of martyrs, or witnesses, if the cause, the cause of faith and the gospel, make the martyr, and unless simple passivity be a necessary ingredient of martyrdom, and the apostle's enumeration of martyrs be incorrect by including those who 'subdued kingdoms,' and 'waxed valiant in fight*.'

SESSION XVII.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Celebration of the Council under Pius IV.

AT the third opening of the council and to its conclusion, the period at which we are now arrived, the assistance of our manuscripts returns in full force. Among them our principal guide for the remainder of our journey will be, the Acta of Gabriel Paleotto, who after the rising of the council became cardinal, bishop of several sees successively, and archbishop of one of them, Bologna.

During the time that the council was sitting, the author's own account of himself will be perhaps our best, certainly most appropriate, authority. Throughout the whole of his work, which is generally described in the Preface, it will be evident that the writer is a devoted servant of the Roman see. The very commencement is expressive of that principle. In most of such productions as the present, which possibly had no title, or would guard against the loss of it, the writer

* Heb. xi. 33, 34. For the preceding statement, see Memorabilis Historia Persecutionum Bellorumque in Populum vulgo Valdensem appellatum, Angrun. Lusern. Sanmartin. Perusin., &c. ab anno 1555 ad 1561, religionis ergô gestorum. Gen. 1581, 8vo.; Leger, Hist. Gen. des Eglises des Vallies de Piemont ou Vaudoises, Deuxieme Partie, pp. 28-40; and Thuani Hist. xxvii. 8-14. Many other historians might be cited, and, not the least of them, our faithful martyrologist.

has expressly introduced his own name and designation, and, as is here the case, an account of his work. Paleotto, accordingly, having first asserted the value of the peculiar description of history which he had undertaken, and the authority of the head of his church, proceeds to write, that when Pius IV, supreme pontiff, had determined upon completing the council, he sent the writer, one of the twelve auditors of the Rota, to be present at it. Paleotto resolved, in the time which was his own, after the performance of his public duties, to commit to writing the transactions of which he was an ocular witness. He amplifies, in the discussion of the subjects submitted to the fathers, their admirable subtlety, variety, judgment, and learning; and enters with interest, as well as particularity, into the details. In the present volume, which is sufficiently bulky, he professedly declines inserting public documents, having devoted to that department another work, to which he satisfies himself with making references, as he regularly does. Fortunately, these pieces are to be found published in accessible collections, and particularly in the magnificent and comprehensive one of Le Plat. Paleotto magnifies the advantages supplied by his office, and professes to have subjected his performance to the inspection and criticism of many of the gravest of the fathers, who formed a part of the council, and who advised him to make his labours public for the common use of the Christian republic. This he modestly refers to the judgment of his superiors, who, with the permission of the chief Roman pontiff, may consider whether such a measure would be subservient to the benefit of the Holy Church. They have not yet so thought, nor was it likely from the honesty of the contents that they ever would. The author then expresses an apprehension, that the disclosures made in his narrative of the numerous contentions, complaints, suspicions, calamities, and sad events, appearing there, might be regarded as an aspersion upon the glory of the assembly. But he is satisfied that the exhibition will turn to its credit, as discovering the continual ambushes of demons to obstruct

what is good, and particularly as evincing the perfect liberty of speech allowed in the council.—If this could have been prevented by the heads of the council; or if any thing like the freedom required had been granted to the protestants, the statement would have been worth something. However, the auditor is a good rhetorician; and in a fine round sentence, bringing before the reader in full detail the most grave fathers constituting the synod, and beginning with those of England and Scotland, he is overwhelmed with admiration of the divine wisdom, which shed its riches so munificently upon this most holy assembly. It is somewhat amusing to find, in the sequel, the writer congratulating himself upon its being not one of the least valuable fruits of the Tridentine council, that in future the most holy Roman pontiffs will not be so importunately called upon to celebrate new councils. The heretics in particular could have no hopes from the same quarter, being self-convicted by refusing, notwithstanding the invitation and offers of security, to come into the field. They would have been heard. Yes: heard by those who were eager, empowered, and sworn to condemn them. It has been sufficiently seen what those calumniously called heretics required, and what was denied.

Leaving these preliminaries, and approaching his subject, the acts of the first session, after expressing his intention of beginning in some measure at the causes, the author makes the following prayer: 'May I be assisted, while 'meditating such an undertaking, by the celestial fa-'vour of the Holy Spirit, communicating his light and 'truth, that being illuminated thereby, I may faithfully 'write in such a way as to promote his eternal glory, the 'advancement of his church, the profit of readers, and 'the remission of my own sins.' The simplest act in devotion is thus defiled by the unwholesome breath of papal theology.

It is unnecessary for us to follow the historian from the beginning of the council under Paul III. What has preceded in the present work is sufficient introduction. At the

renewal of the council at the time with which we are now concerned, by Pius IV, a difficulty occurred in the outset, as our present authority states it, whether the council then about to be held at Trent should be considered as a *continuation* of what had formerly been held at that place, or a *new* one. Philip, king of Spain, had introduced some of the regulations already enacted into his kingdom, and he did not wish to nullify his own acts, which would be done by making or calling the future council a new one. On the other hand, the Germans and French contended, that hitherto the council had not been free; and if the absentees who might be induced to attend in future were considered as bound by proceedings in which they had no part, inconveniences would result, which could only be obviated by making the council about to be convened, really as well as nominally, a *new* council.

The pope submitted this question to an extraordinary assembly of the principal ecclesiastical authorities at Rome; and the result was, that the letters which he issued to the secular powers should be, and were, expressed in a way which waived the question, by applying the ambiguous term *celebration* to the indicted council. The letters were despatched to the principal sovereigns, without pretermitting the sovereign of England, Queen Elizabeth.

By our plan we are compelled to abridge, and therefore pass over a considerable quantity of the matter of our author. The legates had fixed upon the 1st of January for opening the council; but as it was found, that numbers who resolved to attend it could not be in readiness by that day, it was, with approbation of his holiness, postponed to the 18th. While this day was anxiously expected, the Spaniards in their private meetings contrived that the council should be publicly reported as a *continuation*. And notwithstanding the discouragement which this would give to the doubtful, they persisted with increased energy in their requirement. The legates appointed the 15th of January for the first general congregation; and, to satisfy

the Spaniards, directed that the words of the decree in the next session should begin in such a way as not to appear that the present were disjoined from the prior acts of the council; and proper persons were deputed to draw up the decree in conformity with the ambiguous terms of the papal letters.

The first general congregation was held on the 15th of January, 1562. Of these congregations some were public, some private. Of the former, the first were held in the house of the legate; they afterwards assembled in the temple of S. Maria Maggiore. The seats were disposed in the form of a theatre, to contain about 250 persons, with a space in the middle to receive occasionally a larger company. When the legates made their appearance, they were preceded by a silver cross, which was placed in the centre. They sat in front in an elevated place, surrounded with costly ornaments, the cardinal of Mantua in the middle, the other legates on each side, and dignitaries of all descriptions according to rank. The prelates took their place according to the priority of their respective dignities. The chief legate, after the company which was not of the council was dismissed, pronounced the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which is prescribed in the pontifical, and is here repeated.

The private congregations, as the name implies, were select, and consisted of a certain number of the fathers: they were held in the houses of the legates.

The congregations were a kind of preludes of the sessions, and the two points discussed in them were Doctrine and Reformation.

The plan proposed was—to begin generally with matters of faith or doctrine, and, as had hitherto been the practice, go through the seven Sacraments. Certain articles or problems were proposed to the minor theologians, eminent for professional acquirements. Their labours were examined by select fathers, and reduced to the form of a canon or decree, which was submitted to the more mature counsel of a general congregation. Decrees concerning

manners or morals were not put into the hands of the theologians, but the legates took them in a great measure into their own, availing themselves of a consultation with certain ambassadors or prelates, to be finally inspected by themselves, with the tacit understanding, that the graver points should first reach the ears of their most holy lord, who would signify by letter what was best to be done; and the decrees of reformation would be constructed accordingly; which decrees they submitted to the deliberation of the synod, without any mention of the opinion of the pontiff; and they were received, or rejected, or modified by the fathers, as they saw fit*. 'In all this,' proceeds our author, apologetically, 'there was nothing which detracted from the liberty of the 'fathers; since the subject underwent various progressive 'examinations, and was elaborated and polished by such 'operations, so as to become fit for the adoption of the 'session; before which, they did not obtain conciliar 'force.'

At the congregation at this time celebrated, the Cardinal of Mantua congratulated the fathers, that the day was now arrived, when the object most earnestly desired by his holiness, the long-expected council, should be opened, by which the impious doctrines of heretics should be eradicated, the depraved manners of the faithful be corrected†, and its splendour be restored to the catholic church. He was likewise greatly rejoiced to see before him so large an assemblage of fathers, from which the happiest results might be anticipated. He then directed the secretary to read the order which should be observed in the solemnities of the day of session, and likewise the decrees, which were then to await the approbation of the fathers. The two decrees were accordingly read; and cardinal Madruccio returned thanks to his holiness for the attention which he had shewn by this measure to the necessities and interests of the Chris-

* —— idque eo tacitè consilio, ut graviora ad Sanctissimi Domini nostri aures prius perferrent, &c.—dissimulatâ tamen summi pontificis mente, &c.

† —— depravati fidelium mores emendari, &c.

tian republic. All the rest assented. The legate, in order to guard against any disputation respecting the order of speaking and the interruption to business which might follow, directed the letters of his holiness on that subject to be read.

The breve of his holiness, and the declaration of the legates respecting the mode of sitting in the council were then read; after which the congregation separated, congratulating each other upon the prosperous commencement of the council, and the unanimity which appeared among them; when, lo! on the very next day, the archbishop of Granada raised a dispute respecting the words of the decree, contending that the clause, *proponentibus legatis ac præsidentibus*, should be expunged as being new, and as, by appearing to limit the liberty of speech, particularly offensive and repulsive to the heretical adversaries. The bishop of Tilesio, secretary of the council, in the name of the legates, endeavoured to explain the phrase as not intended to restrain the discussions of the speakers, and added, that before the degree was read publicly, it was privately shown to the archbishop and others, and that it was now too late to alter it. Guerrero was not convinced, but complained vehemently, that three days ago a copy of this decree was sent to him, in which the clause in question was not contained *, although it was afterwards publicly read in the congregation, without his attending to it. Since, however, the thing was discovered, it was better to correct it, than to increase one fault by the addition of a new one.

The day of the session, the 18th of January, was now arrived, and the historian describes the ceremonies attending it as an example of all the remaining ones. The whole company assembled at St. Peter's, and made a procession in the usual form, and with great pomp, to the cathedral of St.

* Nihilo æquior redditus id maxime dolebat sibi nudius tertius exemplum hujus decreti missum fuisse, quod clausulam hanc non continebat: fatebatur quidem, &c.

Vigilius. There, with every exhibition of magnificence, they disposed themselves according to prescribed order, and performed the religious services as directed in the Pontifical. The bull for the celebration of the council, dated November the 29th, 1560, was read by the secretary. The officiating prelate then received the decrees from the legates in a napkin, kneeling, and afterwards read them.

The first decree, in substance, submitted to the approbation of the assembled fathers, whether the holy ecumenical council should, on the day then present, the 18th of January, 1562, be celebrated, and in it those things in due order be treated of, which, the legates proposing them and presiding, should appear to the holy synod fit and proper for alleviating the calamities of the present times for settling religious controversies, for coercing deceitful tongues, for correcting abuses arising from depraved manners, and for obtaining true and Christian peace to the church.

All approved except the following. The archbishop of Granada delivered a paper, stating his objections to the clause before alluded to, and on the same grounds, and demanded that an authentic instrument should be drawn of his protest. The protest of Blanco, bishop of Orense, was to the same purpose; but he added, that the clause did not appear in the bull convoking the council, to which the decree for opening it ought to respond. The rest he approved. De Cuesta, bishop of Leon, said, that he approved the clause, provided the legates proposed such things as had appeared to the council worthy of being proposed: to the same effect the bishop of Almeria.

The second decree, for appointing that the next session should be held on the 26th of February following, was universally approved.

The number present at the opening of this third assembly of the council is not given in Le Platt's edition of the Canons and Decrees. But he has given the names of the four Spanish protesting prelates from manuscript sources;

and the substance of their protests, as there given, is in perfect accordance, as might be expected, with the representation transferred above from the pages of Paleotto.

Of the new clause, which gave so early a rise to alarm and debate, not soon to subside, it is strictly impossible that the legates should not have known and felt the importance. In the early part of this history it has been seen, that the right of originating every discussion in the council was constantly assumed and rigidly exercised, and expressly valued by them, as being *that* rod in their hands, which would enable, if not to govern, which was perhaps hopeless, yet to control, the entire proceedings of a body which, without that bridle in its mouth, might have gone far to neutralize or overset the holy Roman Catholic Church. It was likewise of increased advantage to get this power, if it could be done, recognized formally in the very first public act of the newly-opened council. It was rather worse than idle, therefore, to represent the claim as a matter of light or even inferior importance. Those who knew best knew better.

SESSION XVIII.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Index of Books—Safe Conduct.

Soon after the close of the last session a general congregation was held, in which the Cardinal of Mantua congratulated the fathers on what had passed, and proposed to proceed gradually from minor to more important matters, imitating the silent progress of nature to greater perfection. Then turning to the secretary, he desired him to read what was in his hands, namely, a breve of his holiness.

This, in the first place, referred to the objects expressed in the bull for opening the synod, but omitting all allusion to the contested clause. It then proposed, as most important to the restoration of the purity of the faith, that the books written since the rise of the late heresies, and the

censures passed upon them, should be examined, in order that a determination of the council upon the subject might be published. The persons concerned were to be cited, that it might not be said that they were condemned unheard. The offenders were to be invited and encouraged to return to the church, and acknowledge her authority. The fathers were to prepare themselves to give their sentiments on this subject in the next congregation *.

A subject was here introduced, interesting not only to sound theological doctrine, but to literature in general; and, as illustrative of the rule by which Rome allows herself to act with respect to the productions of the mind, and of the means by which alone she can hope to support her doctrine or dominion, it is a subject which the philosopher, as well as the Christian, will contemplate with deep feeling and some profit.

It will be understood, that this engine of literary despotism was not of temporary existence, but almost immediately ramified itself extensively, and has continued its being down to the present time, in those catalogues which proscribe and expurgate whatsoever, in the republic of letters, offends or exposes the papacy.

A general congregation took place on the 30th of January. The principal legate opened it with an elegant recommendation of charity and forbearance, which he represented as the perfection of prudence. The papal breve was then read, and business began. Our author observes, that the discussion was so extended, that it was impracticable to report all the speeches on the occasion.

After the cardinal Madruccio, who spake shortly, the patriarch of Jerusalem observed, rather wide of the point, unless he meant to do so, the importance of possessing books which were uncorrupted†, and thought that the proposed censure should be referred to a deputation for that purpose. The patriarch of Aquileia would have the Index published

* This document is found in Le Plat's fifth volume, pp. 17, 18.

† —— sinceri sint atque incorrupti.

in the time of Paul IV, corrected; and wished that those who in their youth had composed voluptuous pieces*, should not be put upon a level with the authors of impious heresies. The bishop of Braga was of opinion, that the work should be put into the hands of the universities. The bishop of Ariano observed, that, difficult as the work would be, there was no reason to despair of accomplishing it; that those who had been employed in the same undertaking under Paul IV should be applied to; that an account of their progress should be conveyed to his holiness, and *he* requested to afford any assistance from information derived from the censors under his predecessor, in order that the public faith might be pledged to the heretics with more security; but caution was to be used, lest the heretics should be offended by being so called, when, on the contrary, they should be kindly exhorted at first, and punished only on proving refractory. The bishop of Badajoz did not understand why the synod would not supply the fittest operators; and proposed, that the Index should be reduced to five classes: 1. of the books of heretics, and these were to be burned; 2. of books of uncertain authors, which, if blameless, were to be allowed; 3. of those in which there is a mixture of error; and these should be purified; 4. of vernacular versions of the gospels and the common prayers, which, if executed faithfully, should be permitted; if not, interdicted; 5. of books of sortilege, necromancy, and the like; and these should be condemned. The bishop of Modena, who, in a verbose but not luminous speech, magnified the difficulty of the task, would have aprocryphal books, such as the gospel of Nicodemus, exempted from condemnation, and advised to obtain the assistance of those who were employed under Paul IV in the same labour; concluding with very charitable feelings towards the heretics, who, if they could but be brought into contact with the orthodoxy of the council, could not fail to be convinced of the supreme doctrinal purity of the church which

* Was the Venetian thinking of John della Casa, archbishop of Benevento?

they had forsaken. The bishop of Campagna followed, and was not deterred by the alleged difficulty of the undertaking. His statements possess but little merit: respecting the citation of the condemned, he would have the name heretic dropped, and admit them to the synod, not to take part in the *public* disputations, but to be conferred with privately and lovingly. The bishop of Cremona would refer the business to a number of the fathers. He was followed in the same opinion by an abbat, who recommended that the heretics should be invited, not as to a tribunal, but as to a wedding feast; that they should not only be received to penitence, but exhorted, urged, compelled, and be overwhelmed with maternal pity and paternal affection. The speech of the general of the Augustinians is interesting, from the historical information conveyed by him, that he was one of the persons concerned in drawing up the Index of Paul IV: he proceeds to say, that the books of the heretics were brought out of the Vatican library, and dispersed among the various religious orders; that they were all accurately examined; that the indexes of other countries were inspected; and that at last their own was with great diligence completed. The labours, therefore, of the present synod, in this department, would be rendered lighter in consequence of those which had preceded, and which, he yet admitted, were in several points capable of correction.

Having represented the preceding speeches separately, our author *classifies* the remainder.

There were some who thought that the synod ought not to burthen itself with so gigantic an undertaking, in which it was acknowledged, that the learned men who laboured in producing the former Index had failed; and that the emendation of the same should be committed to the judgment of his holiness, or to universities, schools, or monasteries. Others, on the contrary, contended, that this was the proper business of councils; that some of the fathers should be appointed to undertake the affair, availing themselves particularly of the labours of their predecessors, examining foreign

indexes; to submit the whole finally to the holy synod. Among the speakers on this side was a general of the Dominicans, a man of great judgment, who protested against the religious being employed, since that circumstance had rendered the former Index the more odious, and, if repeated, would create them fresh ill will. The bishop of Paphos, however, made himself conspicuous by the line of argument which he adopted. With the authority of age, he admonished the fathers to take care how they proceeded in an affair of such importance, and weigh the matter well before they superseded and virtually condemned, by their new Index, *that* which had been constructed with so much pains and ability under the preceding pontificate; lest, by their example, they should encourage and justify posterity in treating *their* authority with as little respect as they had shewn towards *that* of their predecessors*.

On the question of citing and hearing the persons whose works were condemned, although some thought it necessary, there were others of a contrary opinion, because it was not the *person*, but the *work*, which was condemned.

Respecting the safe conduct to be granted to the heretics, there were some who would attach to it the condition, that they should come to the council for the purpose of acknowledging their errors. The greater part, more indulgent, were disposed to extend to them the most ample security, if they would sincerely unite with the council—that is, finally submit.

In the mean time, three ambassadors from the emperor arrived, as expected. There was some debate as to the form of receiving them; and general regulations were agreed upon, applicable to all such cases as would necessarily occur. Our author dwells upon them at length. The main point, as respects these ambassadors, was their commission. They were furnished with certain articles, which, in the em-

* If this good father had read the strictures of P. P. Vergerio upon this Index, in the republication of it with annotations by the reputed apostate, he would probably have been, at least he would have had reason to be, more measured in his praises.

peror's name, they presented to the council on the 13th of February. The articles, which we find in Le Plat*, (Paleotto refers to his other volume for them,) state, that the Protestants were disposed to seek subterfuges, in order that they might not attend the council; it was, therefore, desirable that the term, continuation, as applied to the council, should for the present be avoided; otherwise, the cause of their refusal would be thrown upon the pontifical bishops and the imperial ambassadors. In order to give more time for necessary preparations, it was recommended to prorogue the next session. With respect to the Index of prohibited Books, which was being meditated, it was thought advisable by the ambassadors, that the Confession of Augsburg should not be condemned *at first*†, as tragical consequences, which are deprecated, might ensue. The heretics were to be won by gentle treatment. It appeared necessary, likewise, that the most ample security, and such as they desired, should be granted them. The ambassadors conclude by suggesting, that the decrees under discussion should not be allowed to get abroad until they were approved and sanctioned by the session.

The answer of the legates to these articles was in the form of assent to all, and was delivered on the 18th. The wily and instructed authors seize the expression respecting the non-condemnation of the Augustine confession *at first*, which they repeat, in order to nail; and in mentioning the safe conduct, although they do not avoid the expression *most ample*, they artfully exchange that of '*such as they desired*,' into that of '*as was formerly sought by and conceded to them*‡.'

In the mean time the legates were not inattentive to the business immediately before them; and that of fixing upon

* Monument. v. 33, 34. His authority for this and the answer is Raynaldus.

† —— ab initio.

‡ —— quemadmodum alias a protestantibus petitus et illis concessus fuit. Le Plat v. 35.

a select number of the fathers for composing the intended Index, having at a congregation been referred to the principal legate, he appointed four for that undertaking, and they elected to act with them as many more as would make the whole number amount to eighteen. A list of them is subjoined; and it agrees accurately with *that* which we find in the three according editions of Antwerp, Louvain, and Cologne, in 1564 *. It is remarkable that even before the formation of the Tridentine rules of the Index, the individuals thus employed were obliged to be furnished by the pope with a faculty to read prohibited books †.

* It is as follows:—

Archieps	Pragensis	Orator Cæsareæ, M^tis.
Patrïarca . . .	Venetiarum	
Archieps	Naxiensis	Ragusinus.
	Surrentinus	Bracarensis.
Epus	Cavensis junior	Arianensis.
	Mutinensis	Senogaliensis.
	Ovetensis	Ilerdensis.
	Brixiensis	Cremonensis.
	Veronensis	
Abbas	Eutitius Cassinensis . . .	
Gnalis	Minorum de Observantia .	
	Heremitarum S. Augustini .	

The list is likewise to be found in Servantio's Diary. Le Plat has it with no substantial variation.

† This faculty or license is transcribed at length in the same Diary at the end. It is carefully confined to the period during which the council might be sitting. But as the document has some interest, and I do not remember another papal license to the same effect, the reader will probably not be displeased to see it entire.

'Breve super licentia legendi libros prohibitos, dati 25 Martii, 1560.

'Dilectis filiis nostris Salutem, &c. Singularis et eximia vestræ circumspectionis integritas, fides, providentia, et erga Catholicam religionem devotio inducunt ut illam curam authoritati vestræ cum fiducia committamus, quæ ad graves et falsas hæreticorum opiniones repellendas atque impugnandas conducere existimamus. Hinc est quod, cum nos superioribus diebus vos vestros et Apostolicæ sedis de latere Legatos ad præsidendum Concilio Tridentino quod celebrandum decrevimus, nostro et ejusdem sedis nomine per nostras sub plumbo confectas literas constituerimus et deputaverimus, considerantes utile et opportunum fore ad sanctam et orthodoxam fidem tuendam .... hæreticorum libros legere; ac Prælatis, et aliis personis, presertim theologis, et in sacris libris versatis, de quibus vobis videatur in dicto con-

When the fathers, to whom the office was intrusted of forming the decree, presented one to the legates, the latter, calling a meeting, first of all admonished them, agreeably to the suggestion of the imperial ambassadors, to be careful not to communicate it out of the council, as the exposure of such a document, in an unfinished and unmatured state, might give rise to various inconveniences. In order that this intimation might take more hold on the memories of the fathers, the secretary was ordered, when he read the decree, to subjoin it.

The decree purports, that, as at this time bad books had increased, and were increasing without end, it was expedient, for the preservation and restoration of the purity of the Catholic faith, that the tares should be separated and bound in bundles; that this had been done by censures in many places and provinces, and particularly in Rome, but without sufficient effect; that therefore it was decreed, that chosen persons should examine the books and censures already extant, and refer the result to the holy synod; that assistance in the work would be gratefully accepted; and that it was

cilio existentibus eosdem libros legendi facultatem concedere, motu proprio et ex certa nostra scientia vobis et vestrorum cuilibet, ut, durante dicti Concilii celebratione, quascunque hæreticorum opiniones impugnandas et reprobandas, tenere, habere, et legere valeatis, necnon quibusvis Prælatis cæterisque personis in sacra theologia Magistris, seu Doctoribus, vel graduatis, et alias eruditis in eodem Concilio pro tempore residentibus, quorum pietas, et erga sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam studium nobis probabitur, illos pariter tenendi habendi ac legendi licentiam concedere libere, et licite, absque conscientiæ scrupulo, aut illius Censuræ ecclesiasticæ incursu, possitis et valeatis, ipsique quibus licentia hujusmodi per vos aut vestrum quemlibet concessa fuerit, libros eosdem similiter tenere, habere, legere possint, et valeant auctoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium facultatem impartimur et potestatem, non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Ap^cis. et quibusvis prohibitionibus, etiam per nos, et alios Romanos Pontifices Prædecessores nostros, et præsertim per fel. rec. Paulum Papam 4 tum super hereticæ pravitatis Inquisitores in contrarium quomodolibet factis et promulgatis, quibus omnibus illarum tenores præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes illis alias in suo robore permansuris hac vice duntaxat specialiter et expresse derogatis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 20 Martii, 1561. Pontificatus nri anno 2°. Cæsar Glories. I am not answerable for more than accuracy of transcription.

the earnest wish and entreaty of the council that those who separated from its communion would return. These transactions took place on the 17th, when, with announcing the 20th for the next meeting, and giving the fathers some good advice respecting diligence and the avoidance of prolixity and wandering in their speeches, the legate dismissed them.

They met, according to the announcement, on the 20th. The legates were in dread of the prolixity just noticed, and hit upon the expedient of limiting the discussion to one day, however late the meeting might be protracted, which perfectly succeeded, for many, supposing they should have no opportunity for speaking, had not prepared themselves; others delivered to the secretary written statements of their opinions; and others contented themselves with a simple *placet*. The speaking, however, was kept up to a late hour. Of the three principal speeches the auditor has given some account.

The first speaker was Cardinal Madruccio, who, professing to give his opinion freely, objected to some of the clauses in the proposed decree. He thought that the hope of moderation to the persons condemned should be expressed more distinctly; that for the designation '*bad* books,' should be substituted 'suspected ones,' as the first epithet had something in it tending to prejudice; that the expression, 'who hold not communion with us,' was not sufficiently precise; and that the public faith should not be confined to those who should attend the council for the purpose of conversion, but should extend to those who came only that they might be heard.

The archbishop of Granada was more censorious. He was of opinion, that the council, with so much on their hands, should not add the fresh load of so difficult an undertaking as that of correcting the old Index. He again put the patience of the legates to a trial by expressing his disappointment, that in the title of the decree was not added the representing clause, which, he said, did not derogate from the authority of the pope. That the words were not

used in other councils, he affirmed, was partly untrue and partly frivolous; and he concluded by saying, that, in the present time, the council ought to maintain its entire authority.

The archbishop of Rossano commenced by formally begging leave to dissent, a request which, of course, the legates could not refuse; and then he proceeded to prove, that the words 'representing the universal church,' were useless and inflated. Neither was he moved by the examples of the adoption of them, which had been adduced in the councils of Constance and Basil: since, as to the first, the title was necessary, while there was no acknowledged pontiff and the schism still prevailed; and, as to the second, to which he would hardly allow the character of a council, when a pretence for schism, which afterwards followed, was sought, what wonder that the title should be seized? But when the church had an undoubted pontiff, and one of its own choice, why should it leave antient models and flee to new *? He closed his speech deprecating the passion for novelty.

The remaining speeches are thrown under different heads; and under that of the safe conduct, since the case of Huss would naturally be adverted to, it was thought that greater openness might be advantageously adopted, that those who dissented from the Roman doctrine should be kindly invited, and if they came, detesting their errors, submitting themselves to the council, and shewing signs of penitence, pardon of all their offences should be offered. These were to find in Trent a fountain of absolution, the others a school of salutary doctrine. With respect to the censure of books, it was judged best, that books being in their proper nature rather persuasives to truth, *that* subject should follow, not precede, the invitation of the heretics, so that when they came

* But the popes, ever since Martin V., owed their entire legitimacy to Constance; and which was the *aggressor* of the two hostile councils of Basil and Ferrara? To which does the guilt of schism with the greatest justice belong?

they might be more firmly detained *. As to some of the expressions of the decree, the opinion of Madruccio seemed to be generally approved; although this was done so instantaneously, that it appeared to some to be the effect not of assent, but of compliment †.

One made it an argument for the representing clause, that the heretics asserted the church to be invisible ‡. Others would have the Protestants invited by name, as Calvin, Brentius, Theodore Beza. It was suggested that the death of the Grand Turk afforded an opportunity for thinking of a war against the Turks. An abbat thought that if bad books were increasing without end, either a remedy should be proposed, or no mention be made of them.

As the speech of the archbishop of Rossano made the greatest impression on the meeting, he was subsequently charged, with the assistance of the auditor of the Rota, to construct a new, or alter the original, decree. The new form was made, and is referred to in the volume which now guides us. I do not find it even in Le Plat: but it is of minor consequence, because it will appear in its final form at the session.

The reader must be prepared for what follows by recollecting the decisive measures of Philip II., in his own kingdom, in 1559, and after, for the extinction of evangelic light. The Inquisition and Aútos de fe must not be forgotten.

Paleotto, then, is our authority, that although the Spanish prelates had given their assent to the impunity pledged to heretics, yet upon consideration they began to be grievously concerned, lest the public faith should embrace those against whom the Inquisitors, in their own country, had commenced proceedings. Should this be the case, they told the legates,

* Quæ sequuntum de libris emendandis ea sunt potius instrumenta quædam, quibus ipsos ad veritatem persuadeamus, et postquam nobiscum fuerint conjuncti, firmius etiam detineamus.

† Non tam assentiendi quam assentandi causa, says our author, with some verbal play.

‡ —Which it could not be if it were as visible as the Council of Trent.

nothing more formidable could happen to their king, who had hitherto, by means of this sacred tribunal, kept the whole kingdom in their duty, and in the Catholic faith. There were even then in the council four persons who had borne the office of Inquisitors for several years; and they affirmed, that the Catholic religion would come into great jeopardy, if this door should be opened, by which any one might, with so much ease, evade that holiest tribunal. This representation greatly perplexed the legates, not only on account of the Spanish, but likewise the Roman Inquisition, which the Holiest had charged them to attend to. They therefore laboured with the advice of others, to contrive, that those who had processes commenced against them, particularly in the Spanish dominions, should not be included in the public faith. It was a subject of long study, therefore, that some certain form of security should be constructed, which, while it saved the dignity of the synod, should create no injury to the sacred inquisition of that kingdom *.

I cannot refrain from observing here, that although Pallavicino is, in this part of the history, professedly following the Acta of Paleotto, yet for this information respecting the dilemma occasioned by the case of the Spanish Inquisition in particular, notwithstanding he does not communicate so much fact as is found in the latter historian, he has loaded his margin with other references; as if he would astonish and confound the reader by the display of his Vatican and exclusive intelligence, and bid him stand by as less learned than himself. In this system of bush-fighting he might have succeeded, had not his infidelity and incompetence been betrayed on numberless occasions by evidence within ordinary reach. It is enough that the authority of the advocate

* Diu laboratum est, ut certa aliqua securitatis forma constitueretur, quæ, salvâ synodi dignitate, nullum sacræ regnorum illorum Inquisitioni præjudicium afferre posset. Such are the perplexities of knavery and injustice!

of such a synod as that of Trent is despised even by those of his own communion *.

At length, as the session was rapidly approaching (this being the 24th, as I infer from the date in the Diary), it was judged best, in consequence of the difficulty which had just arisen, simply, in the decree to be promulgated, to invite *everyone* with the utmost benignity, and to defer the safe conduct to a general congregation after the session, when it could be more maturely considered. For this reason the new form of the decree was superseded by another, which was read with almost unanimous approbation, says the author, although some dissented. The archbishop of Granada, with warmth, renewed his argument for the representing clause, defending it from St. Augustine and the Constantinopolitan council, where it was said, 'Speak, Lord, for the whole world is here:' the title, therefore, was not *inflated*. Another would have excepted from the benefit of the safe conduct, those against whom inquisitorial actions had commenced. Others proposed such qualifications as they deemed expedient.

On the next day, (the 25th as it is noted in the Diary,) the legate proposed, that the time for the appearance of the Protestants should be extended to the 14th of May, in order that they might be without excuse if they declined coming (—and without a safe conduct!) There were various opinions on this subject savouring of the different degrees of bigotry in the speakers. Several expressed a concern for how the council was to be employed in the interval; but Mantua satisfied them that it would be well.

And now the day of the session was arrived (the 26th of February). The ceremonies were as usual; but the time of the session was occupied for near two hours by a contest as to precedence between the Portuguese and Hungarian ambassadors. The author of the Acts gives it in all its detail, and is thoroughly disgusted with its inanity. He,

* Ist. xv. 18, end.

with others, was set to pacify the parties, in which they finally succeeded; and all gave great thanks. Then were read—the letters of the pontiff, respecting the examination of the Index of prohibited books; those respecting the stations granted with indulgences to the city; those about precedence; and those confirming the declaration of the legates, upon the same.

The two decrees were then promulgated.

The first was, of the choice of books, and inviting all upon the public faith to the council.

There is little alteration in the substance of this decree from its first draught. The epithets applied to the condemned books, instead of '*bad*,' are '*suspected and pernicious*.' The council invites, and will embrace, all who come with kindly offices. It likewise, and finally, announces, that a safe conduct may be granted in a general congregation, and that it shall have the same force, and strength, and moment, as if it were given and decreed in a public session.—Why all this tautologous affirmance?

All approved, except—the archbishop of Granada, who stood for the exception which he regularly made—the bishop of Messana, who would have the Index deferred until the condemned were heard for themselves—and two others, who made objections.

The Second Decree simply appointed the next session for the 14th of May.

The assent of the fathers was a good deal qualified. Some wished for an assurance, that the intermediate time would be profitably occupied. Many pleaded for something to be done in the way of reformation. The bishop of St. Agatha did not satisfy himself with a verbal answer, but delivered a written one, which, however, was no more than a disapprobation of the distance of the next session, and a recommendation of prompt and decisive measures with the heretics; for the deadly contagion with which heresy had infected Europe was not to be healed by the medicine of time, but by opportune and speedy remedies.

The names of those who attended this session do not appear any where, but the number and rank were respectable.

The reader, as he has observed, will likewise, it is hoped, excuse a more extended detail than might be otherwise advisable in relating the particulars belonging to this session, both on account of the real and intrinsic importance of the subject, and the interest which the author naturally feels in it, from the circumstance, that one portion of it has before, and with some intensity, engaged his attention. The second and third chapters of the Literary Policy of the Church of Rome exhibited, in an account of her Damnatory Indexes, may be referred to for information respecting both the Index of Paul IV. and the discussions of the Council of Trent relative to the construction of a new Index. The council, it will be seen by the sequel, did nothing itself in this business; but overcome, or overawed, by the difficulty, delicacy and responsibility of the undertaking, cast the whole burthen, or bestowed the whole honour, upon the pontiff, whom they authorized to carry their conceived and abortive plan into execution. So far the fathers of the council gave it, when it should come to a birth, their anticipatory sanction and adoption*.

* Romanists, when the subject of the Indexes of their church is brought before them, whether previously ignorant, or professing to be so, are accustomed to say, that they have no force in this country. It would be better to say, they *can* have none. Surrounded, and vastly outnumbered as they are by a communion hostile to and condemning theirs, it is impracticable for their rulers to keep out of the hands of their flocks books of any description and however condemned. Even in countries where the Roman religion is dominant, licences may be obtained for reading such books. It never has been affirmed, that by the papal law such reading was a *malum in se*. But it *is* affirmed, that were power to return to the papal body in this country, there can be no doubt that prohibitory restrictions on literature would be reinstated in the force which they once had among us; as is sufficiently evident from the "Memorial for the Reformation of England," by R[obert] P[arsons], admitted by the Romish historian, Dodd, to have been faithfully edited by Gee, of which the apparently cotemporary MS. in my possession is an additional proof. It *is* affirmed, that the Rule of the Index respecting the Scriptures, sanctioned subsequently by repeated bulls and breves, is, at the present time, actually observed, particularly in Ireland, as far as possible or prudent. And it *is* affirmed, that, according to the testimony of Dr. O'Conor, and the

Session XIX.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Prorogation of Session.

The first attention of the council, after the session, was turned to the safe conduct; and it was their first concern therein to secure the sacred and threatened rights of the Spanish inquisition. Care, however, was to be used, that the holy office should not acquire greater odium in the world, and that no expression should be adopted, which would compromise the dignity of the synod. It was agreed by the fathers at the time, that precisely the same form should be used as in that proposed by the council under Julius III., in 1552; and which, it is added, was what the Germans desired. This is a remarkable instance, in which the partial enunciation of truth produces the effect of real and important falsehood. The protestants desired this: but they desired *something more,* something reasonable and important, and something which was never granted, nor ever to be granted.

There was, however, far from an unanimity of sentiment among the fathers on this subject. Some thought, that a certain time should be specified, beyond which the council should not be bound by its engagement; that it should extend only to a defined number; and that the protestants should in their passage be restrained from public and popular addresses. One recommended caution as to the concessions to these vipers and foxes*. Another did not conceive, that the number of these visitors would be otherwise than moderate; and he objected against the adoption of the form used in the preceding part of the council, as *implying* the contested point of *continuation.* A Venetian nobleman

Vindicator of Meagher's Popish Mass, sincere and conscientious members of the church of Rome in Ireland, even in modern days, do, (and such could not do otherwise,) stand in awe of the prohibitions of the Index—the deliberate voice of their supreme oracle on earth. See Preface to Literary Policy, &c., and Life of Pius V., pp. 37, 38, and the Supplement referring to the same place.

* —— viperæ vulpesque.

seized upon the words, which were those of one of the imperial ambassadors, relative to restraining the number; as if there were an apprehension, that the heretics would come in herds*, and possibly produce disturbance in the council. When the speaker was considered, such a declaration was calculated to raise suspicions. The archbishop of Prague rose and said, that his expressions were strained to a meaning which he did not intend; since he only desired the example of the council of Basil to be followed in this respect. The meeting ended with the direction of the cardinal of Mantua, that a copy of the safe conduct should be furnished to all who wished for one.

At a congregation on the 4th of March the subject was again proposed, and all subscribed to the form, *as identical with what was before prepared,* since any variation would excite suspicion. The only difference was, the short addition at the end, of the *extension* of the safe conduct *to other nations* besides the German†. To a doubt, whether the forms were the same, the legates answered, that the first was printed; which did not quite satisfy, as it wanted attestation. The bishop of Braga apprehended, that the impunity promised might be interpreted to include offences, both committed and to be committed. He was answered, that matters of faith only were intended. The archbishop of Prague said, that he was almost afraid to speak, lest his words should be obliquely interpreted as *those of an ambassador.* The bishop of Justinopolis took fire at this supposed reflexion, and protested, that he never wished to exclude the protestants, but that there were other persons entitled to the compassion of the council; and repeated, that it would be prudent to provide, lest when it laboured to cure the heretics, they, by disseminating their own poison, should not corrupt and destroy the whole catholic flock. The president answered,

* —— gregatim.

† Sarpi specifies another addition respecting individuals, which was withdrawn, for it does not appear any where, not even in the copy extant in the MS. Diary. Ist. vi., x.

that they would not be allowed to preach in the streets. Another bishop would have the form so altered as to comprehend the heresiarchs. All the fathers agreed simply, and the meeting broke up. Letters of the Duke of Bavaria presented by a councillor of his were answered.

The decree of the public faith being completed, the legates, with great promptitude and diligence, caused it to be published in various cities and provinces. It was affixed to the doors of the cathedral, and immediately printed, that it might be known as rapidly and extensively as possible. Copies were sent to the pope, to the different nuncios, and particularly to the legate in France, with double letters, one public, the other private, in the last of which was expressed the earnest desire of the synod, that those who were corrupted with perverse opinions might come thither, and by the clemency of God, and conference with good men be brought to repentance.

The legates, after this matter was settled, prepared themselves to encounter the important head of Reformation. Seripando gave commencement to the affair, and with advice he selected five prelates, who drew up a list of matters requiring reform. This he communicated to his colleagues. It was signed by *nineteen capital letters*, intimating, as our author who transcribes them supposed, the number of persons who concurred in the formula. Simonetta, however, for his knowledge of pontifical law, was fixed upon for the practical part of the business. He began cautiously, and wished to be supported by the sanction of a full congregation: in the mean time, however, he thought it expedient to consult his holiness. Accordingly, some lighter matters were brought forward, which was not altogether approved. The affair, however, ended in the drawing up of twelve articles, which were expressed in the form of inquiry, for the purpose of providing a wider field of discussion to the fathers. The 1st was respecting the residence of prelates and others: the 3d suggested, that nothing should be received for conferring orders: the 7th, admitting that many rectors,

for their ignorance and turpitude of life, destroyed, rather than edified their flock, and sometimes appointed substitutes who were worse, inquires for a remedy: the 10th proposes, whether clandestine marriages should in future be declared null and void: the last submits it to deep consideration of the fathers, what should be done about the no small abuses of the quæstors.

The legates, after mature consideration, thought that the first head of residence was too broadly expressed, and that it would be better altogether to postpone it, until the meeting of a congregation.

On the 11th of March therefore, when a congregation was called, before it met, the legates signified to the imperial ambassadors, that it was their opinion the subject should be withdrawn until a more convenient time. The ambassadors said, that in *that* case they thought the emperor would consider himself as trifled with, and would form a bad opinion of the whole synod. The legates therefore determined to make no alteration; and the chief president made an elegant speech at the meeting to this effect. He observed, that the union and harmony of the parts of the human body constituted the beauty of the whole, and that when the separate portions were brought together in the structure of ecclesiastical hierarchy which they were about to erect, the edifice would appear in its true magnificence.

After this, several congregations were assembled for the necessary purpose of publicly receiving the different ambassadors of princes, at the head of whom was the Marquess of Pescara, the Spanish ambassador. The mandates, orations, and answers are regularly referred to; and many of them are inserted in the Diary. They are probably all in Le Plat's collection.

The excuses of the absent Prelates were then taken into consideration; and it was thought by some, that these individuals were too gently treated.

We now return to the stirring subject of reformation, and

to the point of it which then excited most agitation, Residence. The contests among the fathers on this subject, the auditor professes his intention faithfully to detail, not only to show how vehemently and perilously the Christian world was disturbed by it, but likewise to make it apparent, how readily in the government of the church human counsels may fail, unless they are supported by the wisdom and benignity of God.

The subject of residence was considered by many prelates to constitute the sum of the whole reformation; since nothing else would restrain the bishops from flocking to Rome and other large cities, and there enjoying their leisure, while the chief pontiff looked on and did nothing. They likewise believed, that the obligation to residence would be made more binding and effectual, if it were declared of divine right. The pontiff, too, would then be interested to see that so sacred a duty were performed. These views were opposed by others, who thought that the privileges of the pope were invaded.

These disputes were at first private, but in a short time they came to be the general subject of discussion. And hence it happened, that although his holiness had written to his legates to repress the matter, he finally expressed his acquiescence in its being deliberated: a change which is accounted for from his inability to resist the popular current. This was so strong that it became almost necessary for every individual to choose a side; since those who did not, were accounted either stupid or arrogant. All the symptoms of violent party feeling began to be exhibited; and hence dissensions and quarrels kept increasing among the fathers, and the hostile ranks indulged themselves in mutual and bitter calumnies. The reporter expatiates in instances of this disgraceful conduct; and concludes, that this plague hesitated no where. Neither the legates, nor the prelates, nor any other individual of eminence escaped the contagion, so that the devil himself seems to have discharged

upon the council the venom of those calumnies from which he derives his name. Every one was eager to see what would be the event of this state of things*.

When therefore the 7th of April arrived, the day appointed for delivering their sentiments upon the subject, the fathers were so full and long, that many days did not suffice for giving them a hearing. Paleotto reduces what was said to five heads.

The first was, the inconvenience following non-residence, and the severity of the canons against it. Some wandered to the point of its divine right, and supported their opinion by various authority. The second set of speakers dwelt upon the impediments to residence; and those impediments they formally reduced to the number of thirteen, specifically described. Among these the 6th is, the great sea of the religious†; the 8th, provisions; the 9th, pluralities; the last, the obligation to visit the thresholds of the apostles. The third class of speeches was on the punishments of non-residence, under twelve heads. The fourth was of rewards for residence, under fifteen. The fifth was, that the prelates should be urged, compelled, bound to their duty; and that this should be sanctioned by the chief pontiff. This opinion is thrown under thirteen heads. The utmost liberty of speaking was allowed, and thus the altercation was protracted to many days. Our author, who is an able and eloquent man, knowing that he had not exhausted his subject, adds a specimen of two discourses on the opposite sides of the question, whether it is, or is not expedient, for retaining bishops in their churches, that residence should be declared of divine right‡. We must not be detained by these; and

* Verum hæc maledicentiæ lues promiscue fere cunctos, qui huc synodi causa convenerant est pervagata. Nullus enim, aut legatorum, aut prælatorum—illius contagione, evasit; ita ut videretur aliquando inter eos cacodæmon calumniarum suarum - - - [virus?] unde nomen traxit, effudisse. Sed hæc progressu temporis, &c.

† —— mare magnum religiosorum.

* See the substance of these discourses in Pallavicino, Ist. xvi, iv. The prudent apologist has taken care to give the information which he found in

by whom they were drawn up is not expressed—most probably by Paleotto himself.

When the fathers gave their opinion on this exciting subject, it might be foreseen, that it would be no easy task to give the result. A congregation, therefore, being held on the 20th of April, memorable, says the writer, for its consequences, it was announced formally by a direction given by the legates and read by the secretary, that the opinions should be given by a *placet* or *non placet*. The fathers, who had premeditated a good deal, were put into straits by this announcement, and suspected a trick; and the effect was, that there never was a more disturbed congregation*. Some answered without hesitation; but others were embarrassed by the necessity of taking a decisive side: and the whole was a scene of confusion, which rendered it difficult even then to collect the votes. It was, however, accomplished, and seventy were reckoned in favour of the divine right, thirty-eight against it, and thirty-four for first consulting the pope. The lists are given. As the last two lists, united, exceeded in number the first, it was resolved to refer the question to his holiness.

Eight prelates were then chosen to digest the other heads of reformation, omitting the first; if any further notions suggested themselves to the fathers, they were to be referred to this body. For the rest, what had passed on the present day was to be suppressed; for the credit of all was concerned, that such controversies as had taken place among them should not be laid open to others†. This, the first president intreated with much earnestness; but to what profit? for hardly was the assembly dismissed, but every place was full

Paleotto, in a very imperfect and softened manner. He did not admire the ground he had to walk over. He would much rather have gone on detecting the *lies* of Soave in mistaken dates, and names, and such like things. But the reader may compare and judge for himself. I have aggravated nothing, and shortened much.

* —— ut adhuc nulla congregatio æque fuerit perturbata.

† —— omnino comprimant; commune enim omnium estimationem hic versari, ne tot inter eos controversiæ aliis patefiant.

of these rumours, and innumerable letters were written to the city and other places for the most part false. It was really astonishing how afflicted almost all left the meeting; and I, (says the auditor, whom I am here strictly following,) saw some even shedding tears over such contentions and disturbances in the synod. Hence some censured the legates for so inadvertently pressing the matter to a scrutiny. Others grieved, that those who referred the matter to the pope, gave a handle to the heretics of representing them as servants of the pope. Some lamented, that on this account his holiness would bear a blame which he was the farthest possible from deserving.

This, proceeds our authors, was the foundation and seed-plot of the calumnies with which each party persecuted the opposite. Nor were the legates themselves spared. To begin with him of Mantua, he was so calumniated, that he demanded an attestation of his innocence by a notary; and Paleotto himself subscribed it. He dwells upon the instance at some length; as likewise upon those of Seripando and Simonetta. The darts, if aimed at the candid Hosius, quickly recoiled. The general judgment respecting the legates was, that the cardinal of Mantua and Seripando were favourable to the declaration of episcopal residence, as of divine right; while Simonetta resolutely opposed it. Hosius embraced the medium. But although the legates were so diverse in their opinions, it was the full persuasion of the most intelligent, that they sought equally the good of the church, and pursued the same end although by different means. We protestants will not contest the general justice of this sentiment; but we beg to share in its benefit.

Proceeding to the prelates*, the historian writes, with what clandestine and calumnious speeches they attacked each other, like gladiators, what opprobrious letters defying all

* De prelatis vero, quot inter se clandestinis maledicisque vocibus sunt digladiati, quot probrose mutuo literæ effractis verecundiæ repagulis Romam sunt perlatæ, iis ego satius abstinendum, quam obscænam aliquorum loquacitatem, qui viros sanctissimos petulanter convellere sunt conati, detegendum duxi.

modesty they sent to Rome, I have judged it better to conceal, than to disclose the obscene loquacity of some, who petulantly endeavoured to traduce the characters of the most holy men. He proceeds, however, to give a general outline of the sinister motives which each of the hostile parties imputed to the other. The one party was accused of desiring to live in idleness and luxury; the other of wishing to diminish the authority of the apostolic see, that they might become chief pontiffs in their own dioceses. The Archbishop of Prague, who thought that both the pope and the council were disgraced by the scenes which he witnessed, observed, that the unjust accusation directed against the apostles seemed to be justly applicable to the actors, namely, that they were filled with new wine. This reflexion gave some offence. The other points of reformation were reserved for a future session.

Without exulting in, but rather deploring, such exhibitions of human sin and frailty, we may yet be allowed to inquire, with what propriety or justice a communion, of whose members such things are recorded by one of the same communion, can cast a stone at the reputed heretics, whom, with some truth, but with more invention and exaggeration, they charge with a similar offence. We likewise observe, that the faithful description which we have just detailed, does not perfectly accord with the picture presented of the august and most holy synod by a Campian* or a Butler. And while we do cheerful justice to the fidelity, with which the pen of a devoted Romanist has delineated

* Bone Deus, quæ gentium varietas, qui delectus episcoporum totius orbis, qui Regum et Rerumpublicarum splendor, quæ medulla theologorum, quæ sanctitas, quæ lacrymæ, quæ jejunia, qui flores academici, quæ linguæ, quanta subtilitas, quantus labor, quam infinita lectio, quantæ virtutum et studiorum divitiæ, augustum illud sacrarium impleverunt! Rationes Decem, Rat. iv. I have read, I cannot recollect where, that at the commencement of the council it was recommended, that all the disputation should take place at preparatory meetings, and nothing but unanimity appear at the sessions, in order that the world might be edified, and the heretics confounded at the miraculous exhibition of catholic unity. Campian might think or mean to gull others, or he might be the gull himself.

the blemishes of characters which he venerated, we may learn how to put a difference between individuals of the same corrupt faith, and not degrade a Paleotto by placing him in the same rank with a Milner, a Doyle, or a Lingard. The cause of the irritability and indecorous tumult in a body of such a description is indeed very plain. The subject of the residence of bishops among bishops was a touching one. Every individual had a conscience, one way or other, to be moved by it: some were, and knew that they were, guilty; and others, in that respect, were, and knew that they were, clear. The latter predicament, however, did not exempt from jealousy or envy. These circumstances produced a fund of combustible and explosive matter.

About this time there was a recommendation, that the holy synod should endeavour to induce the Christian princes to interpose their authority in favour of the bishops who were detained in prison in England; but it was overruled by the suggestion, that it might subject them to greater severity. And was it to be supposed, that a sovereign, in the case of those who certainly desired, if they did not plot, the destruction of the religion, and, if necessary, the destruction of the government of her kingdom, should quietly, and without using additional means of defence, suffer foreign sovereigns at the command of her greatest enemy to interfere with what was considered the execution of justice in the country, and shake the national security to its foundations? There was, and even yet is, something miraculous in the sober insolence of papal politics. But on this subject we shall hear again.

The session was now approaching, and the Venetian ambassadors were received. There arrived likewise the French ambassador, Monsieur de Lanssac, with two colleagues, du Ferrier and de Pibrac. It was desired, for their convenience, that the time of the meeting should be deferred; and it was agreed to have another session a week after the regular one.

In the mean time, it was thought necessary to draw up a

decree in some degree suitable to the majesty of the synod. Paleotto was employed to perform the task, which he executed with considerable eloquence. But when it came to be discussed, there were so many exceptions, particularly as to the supposed implication of a continuation, that it was abandoned; and he prepared the short one, which was adopted. The session after the next, it was agreed to extend to a greater distance, a week after; because, as our author frankly, and with a kind of apology for the levity of the individuals, relates, there were some who considered the remaining days of the month of May as *ominous*. The 4th of June was therefore fixed upon.

The session was duly celebrated on the 14th of May, and the decree read, which simply prorogued the session to the 4th of June: this was approved.

Session XX.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Prorogation of Session.

As the space to the next session was short, the legates were intent upon expediting the business on hand. The congregation of Eight Fathers, for preparing the decrees of reformation, presented the result of their labours; and the first head in it was upon residence. For, although the synod had declared that the subject should be deferred, the legates thought it better to bring it forward, in conformity with a schedule delivered by them containing the subjects upon which decrees were to be made. The schedule was to the following purpose.

The decrees, when drawn out, were to be shewn only to the legates.

That residence is of human, divine, and ecclesiastical right, is to be affirmed in the first instance; and the words were to be so chosen, that it should not appear that this had ever been doubted in the church.

Mention was to be made of the canon on the subject under Paul III; and to the authority of scripture, there adduced, were to be added all the other authorities pronounced by the fathers.

Bishops were to have a vacation of two months in the year.

For the preservation of the authority of the apostolic see, the pope was to have the power of adding two months.

The canon for visiting the thresholds of the apostles might be renewed, in order that bishops may acknowledge the Roman pontiff as their head, and consult with him upon ecclesiastical affairs.

The legates called a select council, in which was the Auditor and Promoter, to consider of what the fathers had prepared on the preceding subjects. While they were thus sedulously employed, letters full of trepidation came from Rome, relating, that the whole court was vehemently disturbed by this disputation concerning residence, which was a violent invasion of the authority of the pontiff himself; that he had summoned his cardinals on the subject, in order that they might diligently provide, that the Christian republic should receive no damage*; and that he had even determined to send three fresh legates to Trent†.

This intelligence was received with great alarm at the council. Legates, irreproachable and meritorious, would be disgraced; the mouths of the malevolent would be opened to represent the new legation as a contrivance to defeat the application of a remedy to the corrupt manners of the Roman court; the friends of residence would be calumniated in the city, and the opponents be in high favour; but last, and worst of all, the present chief legate must of course resign,

* —— ne quid hinc Christiana respublica detrimenti capiat.

† This is confirmed by a letter of Visconti to cardinal Borromeo of the 6th of June, 1562, from Venice on his way to Trent. But he understood that the resolution was abandoned. As we shall have occasion, soon and largely, to refer to these letters, it will be recollected, without further description, that they are the MS. ones addressed to Cardinal Borromeo, and noticed in the proper place in the Preface.

which might easily terminate in the dissolution of the council.

In this perplexity the legates thought of endeavouring to evade the subject as smoothly as possible* at the next session. By means of some fathers of influence, they tried to persuade the advocates of residence benignantly to yield to a further delay. These mediators did not succeed, particularly with the Spaniards, who desired either an express promise, that the matter should be considered in a future session, or a secret one to that purpose under the seal of the legates. To neither of these proposals would the legates consent; but they would not refuse to bring on the subject under the sacrament of order.

The decrees on the other points of inquiry were ordered to be published for the examination of the congregations; and in deference both to the king of Spain and his holiness, words were to be prefixed *manifestly importing the continuation of the council* †.

At this time the three French ambassadors made their appearance, and delivered an oration, to which an answer was not immediately given, for the following reason. According to custom, a copy of the oration was previously sent to the secretary, to which an answer was prepared suitable to its contents. But it was found, that the oration actually delivered on the 26th of May, a general congregation, was very different from the former, and *contained* bitter and audacious expressions, *not* extant in the first copy. The answer, therefore, was deferred to the day of session. Of the oration a copy is suitably enough found in the Actes du Concile de Trente, pris sur les originaux, 1607‡, and of the answer in Servantio's Diary. The oration, among other un-

* —— quam levissime.

† —— manifeste concilii continuationem explicantia.

‡ Pp. 15, &c. This is represented as a very rare work by Vogt. My copy formerly belonged to de Thou. The answer is inserted in Servantio, with the account of the day, which is not in Paleotto. Le Plat has them both.

welcome suggestions, dwelt upon the danger in which the fathers were, from the temptations of the devil, to pay too much respect to the will of princes; it intimated rather significantly that the Holy Spirit *only came from heaven;* and required, that the present council should be considered as a new one*. The speech, of course, gave great offence to some.

A short time after, the ambassadors of the emperor protested in his name, that if the present council were declared to be a continuation of the former, he would recall them. The French, in a particular petition, united with the imperial†.

In the midst of so many difficulties, the legates, who had in a manner pledged themselves to Philip for the continuation, wrote to the pontiff and to the Spanish ambassador, then at Milan, that if this matter were pressed, there would be great danger of the council being dissolved; and this would be a greater evil than the displeasure of the Spanish monarch. They came, therefore, to the conclusion, that the whole matter of reformation should be referred to a future session, which was satisfactory. Moreover, to the Spaniards they promised, that the doctrines should be begun, or rather prosecuted, from the point at which they were interrupted in the council under Julius III; so that, from the very series and context of the former council, a conjunction and connexion should be evident to all‡. After such a representation as this by an able adherent of the papacy and the council, professedly recording the acts of the latter, how is it possible

* Pallavicino, xvi, x, 12, ascribes to Lanssac the well-known, but rather profane taunt of the Holy Spirit being sent from Rome in a bag: che non mandasse lo Spirito Santo nella valigia. There appears some reference to it in the oration, where it is observed, that the holy spirit only came from heaven.

† Servantio, who is alive to such subjects, describes with much detail the procession on the 28th of May, being Corpus Christi, when the cardinal Seripando carried the most holy sacrament with superlative devotion through every part of the city, and then deposited it at the altar, pronouncing a benediction.

‡ —— ut ex rei ipsius serie ac contextu prioris concilii conjunctio atque complexio omnibus aperte pateat.

to wonder that the protestants should distrust and avoid a religious assembly, or rather tribunal, the managers of which, by an artifice so dishonourable, sought to entrap them into a subjection to decrees made, not only without their cognizance and participation, but to their manifest injury and ruin? In Germany and France there were protestants whom it was of importance to the sovereigns of both countries to keep in good will and allegiance. The savage barbarities of Spain had annihilated that class of subjects; and with its king it was, of consequence, no object to conciliate a nullity. The ratification of all the heresy and intolerance of the former meetings of the council was all gain to Philip. Does not all this iniquitous and astute policy demonstrate, that the council of Trent was under the guidance of any other spirit than the Holy One? The decree for prorogation was agreed upon.

A little after came letters from his holiness, directing that the continuation of the council should be published. This was a new embarrassment to the legates. They determined, however, to adhere to their own course; and intended to have sent one of the body to explain matters to the pope, and allay his anticipated wrath, but other letters came from his holiness, which referred the affair to their own discretion.

The reason of this change in the infallible councils was supposed to be, the hope, by the first, of an easy dissolution of the council, and a reputable deliverance of the pontiff from all his difficulties. More prudent consideration, however, produced altered views and measures.

Having thus escaped, on the 3d of June, the day before the session, and in a general congregation, Seripando, in the absence of the first legate, exhorted the fathers to the study of concord and piety, and informed them that the business of the next session would be deferred to a future time. He likewise consulted them upon the answer to be given to the French ambassadors; and they agreed upon one, in which their feelings were to be dissembled from regard to the times. The decree of prorogation was then read. The archbishop of Lanciano objected to the liberty claimed,

at the close of it, of extending or contracting the term, which he said did not suit the character of a judicial tribunal. All the rest subscribed, except thirty, who had particular views in favour of residence * and the continuation of the council. With these some Italians joined, in the hope, as it was believed, but our author will not affirm it, that their united votes would outnumber those of the imperial party, and produce ultimately the dissipation of the council. Some of the fathers complained that the difficulties in which the synod was placed were not made known to them earlier. Seripando, however, vindicated himself with spirit, and was confident, that if the conduct of the legates were understood, it would be found blameless.

June the 4th, the day of the session, was observed in the same manner as usual. The Bishop of Salamanca performed the mass of the Holy Spirit: plenary indulgences by apostolic authority were then published, and Ragazzone, Bishop of Naziansum, and elect of Famagosto, delivered an excellent sermon. This we learn from the Diary, and he will distinguish himself again. After some other ceremonies the ambassadors of France again pronounced their oration, and the answer followed. This commenced with a compliment to his most Christian majesty, then a boy; but the most remarkable part is that which discovers the soreness of the legates at being reminded of their temptations, which they say was quite misplaced or superfluous; but they were determined, notwithstanding their provocation, to answer in a manner not dissonant from their accustomed mansuetude, and wished his most Christian majesty to be assured, that the rule of their future conduct would be the interests of his royal authority, saving those of faith and religion.

* Visconti, in a letter from Pesaro, May 30, 1562, mentions for the second time a tract on Residence, as not of divine but pontificial right, drawn up by Salmeron from Caterino, bishop of Minori, and he here suggests that copies of it, to the number of a hundred, might be printed, and dispersed among the fathers: and if it was not expedient to do this in Rome, it might be done in Pesaro.

The Bishop of Salamanca then read the decree, stating that existing difficulties having prevented it at the time, the joint subjects of doctrine and reformation would be determined in the next session, which was appointed for the 16th of July next, with power to alter as might be deemed expedient for the council.

Many of the fathers expressed their dissatisfaction. It almost exclusively turned upon the two points of residence and the continuation of the council. The persons present were, according to Servantio, who has given the number of each class, the four legates, the principal one being indisposed, one other cardinal, five patriarchs, (Le Plat, from a MS. of Ficler, says 2), two archbishops (Le Plat 17), one hundred and twenty-eight bishops (Le Plat 138), two abbats, five ambassadors (Le Plat 4), four generals, and theologians, in all seventy-three.

Session XXI.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Communion under both kinds: Infants—*Reformation:* Bishops, Monasteries, Quæstors, &c.

The session at this time in prospect and preparation, was the first of the third convocation of the council, in which any proper business of the council was accomplished. The subject, as proposed by the legates, was, the reception of the Eucharist, whether in one or both kinds, and the communion of infants. They promised thence to proceed without delay to the consideration of the sacrifice of the mass, not omitting, according to the laudable custom hitherto pursued, to unite reformation with doctrine. The articles proposed, in the first instance, to the theologians were, 1, whether it were necessary to salvation to receive in both kinds; 2, whether the custom of restricting to one kind laics and non-celebrating priests was so to be retained, that no exception should be made; 3, whether the use of the cup

should be allowed to any nation or kingdom, and on what conditions; 4, whether less is received under one than under both kinds; 5, whether the eucharist should be administered to those under age. It should be observed, that the number of these inquiries in Fra Paolo is six, and the one omitted is his second—whether the church had just reasons for giving the eucharist to the laity under one kind only? With the proposal of these articles all were satisfied, except the archbishop of Granada, who observed, that the first was settled by the council of Constance, and that by omitting it room would be left for passing to the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of order and residence. Upon the last he insisted as of high importance, which roused the feelings of the archbishop of Rossano, who entertained directly opposite views. The altercation, in which others joined, proceeded so far as to require the pacifying interference of the chief legate.

At this time the archbishop of Lanciano was sent to Rome to acquaint his holiness with the state of things in the council, and particularly the pressing petitions respecting residence, upon which, and the declaration of continuation, the legates were anxious to know his determination.

On the 27th of June, with the Venetian ambassadors, appeared the Bavarian, whose oration contained grievous charges of the gross profligacy, particularly incontinence, of the priesthood in his master's dominions. The speaker declared, that they could not be uttered before chaste ears. The oration is extant in Le Plat's collection, as well as in others; and may therefore be consulted for this fact, which speaks volumes on the enforced celibacy of the Romish clergy.

The theologians set to their work with assiduity, and had drawn up four canons with anathemas on three of the articles. On the remaining two, which concerned the conceding the cup, they were divided. The legates wished to defer this subject, upon the plea that it less concerned doctrine than *economy*, (meaning by *that* perhaps something of reforma-

tion;) but the imperialists were resolute for the settlement of that point. The legates tried to satisfy them, but in vain; nor were they satisfied without obtaining a promise, that the subject should be considered as soon as possible. It is doubted whether the legates subscribed the engagement.

It is literally irksome to follow the particular argumentation of the fathers on the whole of the present question, who with the intellect and acquirements of men wielded the logic of children; and hardly anything is worthy of remark, except the incidental and occasional observations, such as that of the archbishop of Granada, who said, that he and his friends wished a certain canon against Luther to be omitted, because it wounded neither Luther nor any other heretic, and that they should only expose themselves to the world as fighting a shadow. It is as clear from scripture as a meridian sun can make any object, that in the Lord's supper the bread and wine are one sacrament; and that the unprincipled tyranny and heterodoxy alone of such a church as that of Rome can deny either to the participation of the body of the faithful. He who instituted the ordinance, joined at the time the two parts of it together; and it is not any mortal or hierarchy on earth which can put them asunder. With what defect of outward ceremony in cases of necessity the grace of the ordinance may be compatible, is another question. The arbitrary human denial is the point here. And I may just observe, to spare myself the necessity in another place, that it is with some prudence that the cup has been selected for prohibition, since the words in which that portion of the sacred rite was instituted, are not only incompatible with, but completely destructive of, the unfounded and degrading figment of transubstantiation. The *cup* literally must be the *new covenant* literally, if that doctrine, or its necessary foundation, be not false.

When the canons of the divines came to be discussed by the congregations, they were altered and thrown into a new form. In the progress towards this conclusion it was argued, that although the original custom was, to administer in both

kinds, yet the church, as in the case of baptism, had a right to make an alteration. It was likewise inferred from the participation by the apostles alone in the first institution, that the successors of the apostles alone, the clergy, were entitled to the privilege. And if but one half was allowed to the laity, that was pronounced equal to the whole.

Even when a greater advance was being made in settling the faith of the church on the point in hand, the fathers do not seem to have improved in unanimity. Some, says the historian, as to the *words*, abhorred a polished style, and preferred something approaching the majesty of antiquity. Others would have nothing but pure and elegant latinity. Some desired, that the epithet, *most august*, should be affixed to the mention of this sacrament; while others, whether in joke or in earnest our author is doubtful, objected, that this title was peculiar to Cæsar: they, therefore, gave the preference to one which belonged to a priest, as *most holy*. The Bishop of Veglia interceded for those under the Venetian government, and in the isle of Cyprus and other eastern countries to a great number, who, although in communion with Rome, used both kinds, that they should not be included under an anathema. It was answered, that those only who asserted the taking of both to be of divine right were intended; but it was thought better to make the affair less ambiguous. The Bishop of Viviers started the objection, which was afterwards followed up, against adducing the much disputed discourse in the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel, as explanatory of the eucharist. By arguments such as these, partly grave and partly trifling, was the whole doctrine agitated and shaken, until the fathers settled in the conclusion, that the statement should be accurately amended, and reduced to more contracted limits. This task was confided to the deputation of fathers previously chosen for such purposes, with an addition to their number.

The legates then proceeded to Reformation, and proposed to the adoption of the congregation certain decrees, which

in the history before us are detailed at length. It is not necessary to repeat, or even to give an outline of them; since they appear in the form ultimately adopted by the session, in the published canons and decrees. There are circumstances, however, deserving attention. It is one, and the first, that in the very first introductory paragraph, the important word, *continue*, as applied to the council, is introduced in the insidious way, which it will be recollected was proposed, and upon which some observations were made*. It is remarkable too, that in company with those to whom it was no secret, and before whom it would appear ridiculous to affect to treat it as such, no attempt is made to palliate or disguise the iniquities prevailing among the clergy, one division of these decrees beginning thus: 'because illiterate 'and unskilful rectors of parish churches, and possessors of 'dignities in cathedrals and colleges, are unfit for the sacred 'office, and some on account of the turpitude of their life 'rather destroy than edify their flock,' the ordinaries may substitute proper persons. It will, however, be recollected, that they were *prelates*, who pronounced thus freely respecting the *inferior clergy*. The strong reprobation of the conduct or *abuses*† of the quæstors will likewise excite something like surprise; still, however, the *use* of the profession is so far recognized, that under certain regulations it is allowed, and so far encouraged.

* —— idcirco eadem sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus, &c., *incepta continuare*, et ad laudabilem effectum Domino perducere, cupiens, &c.

† The reader can hardly forbear to have observed generally, and particularly in the foregoing history, how religiously Romanists confine themselves to the term *abuses*, when speaking of the corruptions, even the worst, of their church. The reason is obvious: an abuse implies a use; and leaves possible the supposition, that the subject to which it attaches may be innocent or even laudable. The scriptures themselves may be abused: the most vitious superstitions may be founded upon them; and by ascending to a real or imaginary origin, the vocation of the most profligate of the papal quæstors may be referred, as was done, to a charitable concern for the establishment of Christian churches and other pious speculations. But whether a thing be originally good or evil, it must stand or fall by what it is: and the purer the fountain, the fouler are the streams when they become contaminated by sin.

Several observations were made on the proposed reforms. The bishop of the Five Churches was disappointed that more serious and beneficial measures were not proposed; and stated the want of cathedrals in Germany and Hungary, in parts of which countries there was not a cathedral in an area of three hundred miles. Many others, directly or obliquely complained, that more solid and profitable proposals were not made by the council. Several of the ecclesiastical regulations were the subject of appropriate criticism. On the remaining parts the fathers were well agreed, except *that* relating to the quæstors, concerning which there was no little contention. The greater part inveighed against them with the utmost vehemence, charging upon them the origin of Lutheranism; and, enlarging upon their infinite frauds and impostures, contended for their utter extirpation. Others more indulgent proved, that the office was very antient, and approved by several councils, although the same councils repressed several abuses which had connected themselves with it. They added, that thence originated many hospitals and charitable institutions; that by the means of this body the supreme pontiff distributed indulgences and spiritual gifts among the Christian population to the great relief of their conscience, particularly in the case of those, who from distance could not easily approach the supreme pontiff, and obtain thus the desired expiation; and that these treasures of the church should not be locked up, but rather guarded in their distribution with such regulations, as to show that the office was not intended for lucre, but for piety. After a great deal of debate, the legates compromised by suggesting, that the quæstors should not be permitted to exercise their office, except with the sanction of the ordinary*. Many of the fathers, however, were not at all disposed to be satisfied, and contended that nothing could effectually restrain the impostures and profligacy of this order of men,

* —— nisi secum adhibito ordinario. The reader may suspect, that in this account I have indulged in some exaggeration; but it is not the case, I have kept strictly to my original.

and that it was a great burthen to allow such flagitious characters to gain a livelihood in this way. Fortunately, at this very time it happened, that the archbishop of Lanciano, who had been sent to the pope as nuncio, on this and other similar questions, returned, and reported his holiness's opinion, that it was for the interest of the church that this odious order should be altogether abolished: and it was decreed accordingly.

In the mean time the storm on the subject of residence had not subsided. As soon as it was announced at Rome that the legates had pledged themselves to bring it on, and that the ambassadors of the princes were upon the alert, an universal suspicion arose in the papal court, that some great event was at hand. Many interpreted the affair as the commencement of a conspiracy against the apostolic see; and his holiness himself, in proportion to his efforts and sacrifices for the benefit of the church and the prelates, was vexed at these oblique councils and arts. It was reported, that the cardinal of Mantua fell under his displeasure, as encouraging the sedition, from his attachment to some sects of regulars, who pursue everything which is attended with the appearance of piety. He complained of the Venetian ambassador, and some prelates of that state, on the same ground. He likewise assembled some cardinals and divines to deliberate what was best to be done in the present emergency. Cardinal Morone, who from his affinity with some of the principal accomplices, (as they are called,) and promoters of residence by divine right, was in the council suspected of concurring with them, parried the suspicion like a prudent man *, by writing letters to two of the prelates at Trent strongly reprobating the proceedings of the party.

It will now be of advantage to consult the letters of Visconti, bishop of Ventimiglia, who was sent by the pontiff to Trent for the express purpose of informing him in a way most satisfactory to himself, how the affairs of the council

* We shall see an additional testimony to the *prudence* of this cardinal in the proper place.

stood, and were conducted. He, in fact, may almost be considered, if not as superseding, yet as superintending the legates. The letters are addressed to Cardinal Borromeo, the pope's nephew. The bishop had arrived at Trent on the 11th of June *. In a letter of the 16th he enters rather at large on the manner in which he had employed himself since his arrival, and of the caution with which he was making himself acquainted with the state of things; and, at the close, he refers to the misunderstanding occasioned by the stirring question of residence between the two legates, the cardinal of Mantua and Simonetta. From another letter, soon after, it appears, that the nuncio set about the work of reconciliation with great zeal and address, having conferred with both parties, who hardly seem to have known why they differed. A few days onward the subject is resumed. But it appeared, that one cause of jealousy was, that the letters, which were formerly directed to the chief legate, were afterwards addressed to the other. Something is likewise intimated respecting the declaration of the continuation of the council. But it is in a letter of the 2nd of July, and in the close, which is in cipher, that the clearest discovery of the state of things and parties is made. There the writer declares his conviction, that when Order is discussed, there is an expectation from promise to the purpose, that residence will be introduced, which he anticipates will be productive of no little danger. He had conversed with many who espoused it, and they affirmed their party to be stronger than was apprehended. Among these were some well disposed to the papal interest, one of whom acknowledged to the writer that he continued in the same sentiment, in order that he might retain his consistency; and this, he inferred, would be the conduct of the rest: they likewise alleged their conscience. As for any change for the better, if Mantua, as was rumoured, should resign, he con-

* Servantio has it the 14th; but he is plainly wrong; for Visconti has mentioned the 11th twice. His coming might be unknown for some days, as he is said to have kept himself very private.

sidered the expectation quite groundless. He therefore sees no other remedy than that, before the session of the sacrifice of the mass, his holiness should issue a breve declaring residence necessary, and attaching a greater penalty to non-residence, with other conditions appearing expedient to his beatitude; and in this manner he thought every one would be readily satisfied *. The next letter of the 6th of July mentions the application of the ambassadors of the empire and Bavaria to have the subject of communion in both kinds discussed. The French ambassador united with them, and added, that in France it was desired to have worship in the vernacular tongue, which he thought right, and argued for the abolition of the images of saints, and of the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy. It is thought that the request of the emperor being conceded, other demands, such as the preceding, will follow, and that if it be not conceded, he will be exasperated. On the 13th of July, the nuncio expresses himself much aggrieved by the licence of speech, in which the fathers indulged themselves; and adds, that he had recommended to the legates the example of their predecessor Crescentio, who, when he perceived the prelates to wander, interrupted them without ceremony, and bade them keep to the point; and thus brevity would be secured, and novelties precluded. Onward he notices the breve, which Monsignor di Lanciano had brought from Rome. The long conclusion in cipher is an account of the measures taken to produce at least an external reconciliation between the two disunited legates.

We now return to the author of the Acts; and some repetition must be tolerated in giving his direct narrative. The cardinal of Mantua, indignant at being made the object of so much obloquy and calumny at Rome, wrote to his holiness, that he had strained every nerve in the service of him and the church; but that, since he found his efforts were not acceptable, he solicited dismission from his present situa-

* — che in questo modo si quietaria ogniuno più facilmente.

tion. Having obliged himself to allow the discussion of residence, he could not in honour retain his office unless he fulfilled the engagement: he therefore earnestly intreated his holiness to allow him to retire from the inauspicious legation. Many of the prelates took this opportunity of leaving the council, not without addressing a letter to the pontiff on the present unhappy aspect of affairs, signed by thirty-two of them.

The archbishop of Lanciano was now at Rome; and, dreading the *effects* of the legate's resignation, he represented them strongly to the pontiff—the observations of heretics, the offences and suspicions among the members of the council, the resentments of his private friends. These he insisted upon with so much force, that the mind of his holiness, commended for its benevolence, was entirely changed, and he wrote to his servant with his own hand, not only exhorting, but charging him, upon his obedience, to continue his presidency of the council. He ordered a breve to be written to the prelates who had written to him concerning residence, which he entrusted to the nuncio, with verbal instructions how to act with the president and with the prelates.

The president, upon this communication, being equally sensible of the evils which might follow his resignation, sacrificed all private feelings to the good of the church. As to residence, the nuncio informed him, how well affected his holiness was to it,—how it should be conducted,—and suggested that in due time all difficulties might be surmounted. By private letters Simonetta was directed to omit no respect to the superior legate, and to take care that the explanation of the divine right should proceed no farther. The archbishop from Rome, when he had delivered the breve to the prelates, represented it as his holiness's desire, that the seeds of contention which the Evil Demon is accustomed to scatter should be dismissed, and that the tranquillity and mutual agreement which are imparted by the Holy Spirit should be cultivated. In former councils, when matters of controversy arose, they were either rejected or suppressed: as in

the present the question of the conception of the virgin, and an article of justification—examples which should now be followed. To all this he subjoined his persuasion, that if the fathers would remit the whole affair to his holiness, he would, by a diploma, pronounce residence to be a matter of his own jurisdiction. But this was said in vain; for no one could persuade himself to acquiesce *.

A new form of the doctrine proposed to be adopted by the session on the Eucharist was then exhibited; and in the volume of Paleotto several pages are occupied with the decrees and canons in an amended condition.

On the 14th of July, when there was only one intervening day before the session, the archbishop of Granada disturbed the harmony of the congregation by starting anew doubts about the acceptation of the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel, whether it were to be understood spiritually only, or with reference to the sacrament in question. It was answered, that the difficulty had a twofold aspect, as it concerned the varying opinions among catholics themselves, with which it was better to have nothing to do; and as it concerned the debate with the heretics, who derived from it an argument for the use of the cup, or both kinds. This point it was unnecessary to determine. But, says the speaker, the cardinal Seripando, glancing at the presumed object of the archbishop, nothing can be more disgraceful, or expose the council to more general contempt, than the continually repeated announcement of prorogation at every session. The debates upon the subject, however, were not so silenced, but that, at last, to preclude all ambiguity, it was proposed by the legates to add the words, 'however it be understood, according to the various interpretations of the holy fathers and doctors.' To this eighty-seven agreed, and twelve only dissented, on the ground, that it was more for the dignity of the synod to pass over

* — cum diplomate suæ jurisdictionis esse residentiam declaraturum. Sed frustra hoc dictum, nec enim quisque verbis hujusmodi acquiescendum in animum poterat inducere. So I correct suo jurisdictioni.

the matter than to publish that a controversy existed upon it. Others were actuated by personal objection to the principal mover.

On the next day, when the legates flattered themselves that no more obstacles would arise, two of the pontifical divines, one of them Salmeron the Jesuit, came forward with several objections, which it cost the legates some trouble to remove: after which the day of the next session was fixed for the 17th of September. But even then the legates had a fresh trial of their patience to endure. As the meeting was just breaking up, a member loudly called upon the assembly to hear him. By the direction of the presidents the fathers returned to their seats, although the good man had very little of importance to say. And this is expressly related by the historian, as he declares, for the purpose of proving how much liberty of speech was allowed in the council. Although there was no further room left for controversy, the theologians, it is said, ceased not to move every stone to introduce some additional doctrine. The two instances which are given, and which seem to have been attended to, were of very minor importance. It was, however, promised, that they should be considered in the session following that just present.

When the 16th of July arrived, after a little interruption the session commenced with the usual ceremonies. Dudith preached. Plenary indulgences were not omitted.

The decree of doctrine was then read, consisting of four chapters, and as many canons. Of the addition in the first chapter, recognizing the varying interpretation of a portion of scripture by the fathers and doctors of the church, we have already said something. But it becomes those who have sworn to the Tridentine creed of Pius IV, to consider how far their self-imposed obligation to interpret the scriptures no otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers, is to be reconciled with the conciliar admission of their want of unanimity in the interpretation of a particular, and in all senses important portion of scripture; and when, in de-

monstrable fact, the variation extends to an infinitude of other portions.—The canons require no particular notice.

On Reformation the decree is divided into nine chapters, respecting—the prohibition of taking any thing for conferring orders; the not taking orders without means of subsistence; the distribution of the third part of revenues to the benefit of assistants, as the bishop, who shall act as *delegate* of the apostolic see, shall direct; the making perpetual unions in cases of insufficiency; the remedy for incompetent and vitious curates, (in the terms which have already been noticed;) the transfer of the benefices of ruined places of worship; and the visitation of monasteries and such institutions. The last is upon the subject of quæstors; and it deserves to be given without abridgment.

'In process of time several remedies, which had formerly 'been employed by different councils, as of Lateran, Lyons, 'and Vienne, against the abuses and irregularity of the 'quæstors; and their disorders seeming rather to increase 'daily, to the great scandal of the faithful, who have just 'reason to complain, so that there appears no remaining 'hope of amendment, the holy council ordains, that hence-'forth in every Christian place their name and use shall be 'altogether abolished, nor shall they be allowed to exercise 'such an office any longer, notwithstanding the privileges 'granted to churches, monasteries, hospitals, charitable 'places, and any persons of whatsoever rank, state and dig-'nity, or even immemorial customs. It decrees, however, 'that indulgences, or other spiritual graces, of which there-'fore the faithful of Christ ought not to be deprived, shall 'henceforward be published to the people by the ordinaries 'of the place, with two of the chapter, at proper times. To 'whom a faculty shall be given of faithfully collecting, with-'out any remuneration, the alms, and charitable contribu-'tions offered to them; that all may understand, that these 'celestial treasures of the church are administered, not for 'gain, but for the advancement of piety.'

The terms upon which the two parties in this concern

stand towards each other are remarkable. Of the value of the body above referred to to the papal system and its sovereign, in various ways, and very substantial ones, no one can doubt. Yet the office, lucrative to the undertakers and beneficial to those who employ them, must be accepted with the understanding, that if, as may frequently happen, the discharge of their duty, from the intensity or imprudence of their zeal, should bring disgrace upon their principals, they must be prepared to submit to being publicly disowned, vilified, and threatened with extermination; supporting themselves by the well-founded assurance, that unless in cases of appropriation of their receipts in too large a proportion to their own use, no expression of enmity or even diminished affection is really intended, and that no inconvenience will ensue*. The parties are too dependent upon each other to be guilty of serious quarrels; and with great honesty they may reciprocally sing,

Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

In consequence of the severe blow inflicted upon the whole speculation by the revival and progress of reformed Christianity, there is less sacrifice in denouncing and execrating this unfortunate class; and it is somewhat amusing to read, in the Declarations of the Congregation for interpreting the Council of Trent, with what a torrent of virtuous indignation the members express their detestation of the impostures and iniquities of the pestiferous race of quæstors†.—The latter

* Tetzel himself would never have been in disgrace had he not, by being exposed, brought infamy and mischief upon the cause in which he laboured.

† I refer to the MS. which I have in eight volumes. I hope the edition by Zamboni at Rome is faithful; for there would be some trial in a few parts. The portion relative to the quæstors, who in this instance are those of the kingdom of Naples, is to be found in the vith part, or volume. The chirurgical speculation pursued at great length is infamous. There is a curious indulgence of ten years, in Italian, in the iiid part. A letter of the legates, before this history is concluded, will furnish us with another instance still more alarming. An Irish titular, Dr. Doyle, in a kind of parliamentary examination, knew of no indulgences extending farther than seven years. Dr. Challoner, a vicar apostolic, as he is called, in his Catholic Instructed,

portion of the decree discovers pretty plainly how the first part is to be understood.

The decrees were received with little hesitation, although with some. The next session was appointed to be held on the 17th of September ensuing.

The number present appears in the Diary, and in Le Plat, but the presidents, cardinal, and ambassadors of the princes alone are specified. The prelates amounted to 177. The theologians were 95.

In the letter written by Visconti on the same day he gives an account of the session and reckons the prelates at 175. In the latter part, in cipher, he enters into particulars, which substantially, and rather minutely agree with the narration above. Of the proposed addition of the archbishop of Granada he says, that had it been proposed at a suitable time, and not so near the session it would have been almost unanimously adopted. As it was, about 62, (it certainly should be 12,) answered *non placet*. Several other particulars are mentioned; and the sudden* proposal of some motions is censured by him.

Session XXII.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Sacrifice of the Mass—*Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations.

The first event of importance, with which the present portion of this history is concerned, is, the apparently confirmed reconciliation of the two alienated legates. Another affair of some importance was, a letter of the king of Spain to his

wishes to doubt whether there were such things as indulgences for a hundred and more years. Dr. Milner doubts, whether there were such a vile book as the Taxæ Pœnitentiariæ. Our great naval hero, Nelson, when before Copenhagen, was told, that the admiral in chief gave signal to withdraw. He turned, and, putting his hand over his effective eye, said, I see no signal. No system, moral or religious, teaches the art of looking at things with the blind eye so completely as the Roman Catholic.

* —— cose nuove all' improviso.

ambassador at the council, the Marquess of Pescara, expressing his consent, that his prelates should cease to press the disuniting subjects of *continuation* and *residence*. This, when made known to them, did not please the Spanish prelates; and Granada respectfully, but firmly, remonstrated, adding, that the king was misinformed, and under the influence of sinister councils, and that he himself, although he should forbear protesting, should still persist in advocating the point of residence in particular. For these facts we are indebted to an epistle of Visconti of the date of July the 20th*.

The historian of the Acts, in order to avoid the confusion which might arise from the varied subjects of discussion preparatory to the ensuing session, divides his account into the four following parts—I. the Sacrifice of the Mass; II. the use of the Cup; III. Reformation; IV. Abuses of the Mass.

To secure greater celerity in the examinations, the theologians and canonists were classified, and had each their separate department. Thirteen articles were prepared for them on the subject of the mass. The 1st was, whether the mass were a commemoration only, and not a true sacrifice; 2. whether the sacrifice of the mass derogate from the sacrifice on the cross; 3. whether by the words, 'this do in remembrance of me,' Christ ordained, that his apostles should offer his body and blood in the mass; 4. whether the sacrifice of the mass benefit the receiver alone, and cannot be offered for others, as well living as dead, nor for their sins, satisfactions, and other necessities; 5. whether private masses, in which the priest alone communicates, are unlawful, and to be abrogated; 6. whether the mixture of water with wine be repugnant to the institution; 7. whether

* In my MS. the date is the 22d, but it is evidently corrected by the next letter at the beginning. It is likewise the date which Courayer gives in his reference in the margin. It may be observed, how accurately Fra Paolo has represented the information of Visconti in this place. The details of both perfectly agree. I have given only the substance.

the canon of the mass contain errors, and is to be abrogated; 8. whether the Roman custom of consecrating secretly and in a low tone is to be condemned; 9. whether the mass should be celebrated in the vulgar and known tongue; 10. whether appropriating certain masses to certain saints be an abuse; 11. whether the ceremonies, &c. observed in celebrating should be discontinued; 12. whether the mystical immolation of the Lord be the same as being given us to eat; 13. whether the mass be a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; whether likewise a propitiatory sacrifice for the living as well as the dead. Let it be said, whether these articles be erroneous, or false, or heretical, and to be condemned by the holy synod.

The legates desirous of guarding against the loss of time, arising, not only from the number of speakers, but from their prolixity, proposed certain regulations, composed by the historian, and approved by the fathers. The principal of them was, that each speaker should be limited to half an hour*.

This part of the rule, however, was not strictly observed. Salmeron, the pope's theologian, relying perhaps upon *that* privilege, contrived to occupy the whole space of one congregation with his own speech. And his colleague followed his example, to the great annoyance of the legates, who determined to make an example of the transgressors. In fact so little authority had the determination of the synod to regulate its own proceedings, that, according to our authority, Visconti, in four congregations only six individuals had spoken.

Some progress, however, was made; doctrine and canons were composed. The theologians determined, by various reasons and authorities, that the mass was a true sacrifice. There occurred indeed some obstacle to their unanimity. A Portuguese divine set himself to overturn all the foundations of his associates. Indeed, according to Sarpi, who gives him

* These regulations are preserved at length in Servantio; and they are found in Le Plat.

the name of George d'Ataida, he made such approaches to common sense in his argument, as to present the strange appearance of a protestant in the very council of Trent. But it became quite necessary, that another divine of the same nation should extricate his brother, by making it evident, that the unfortunate man intended exactly the opposite to what he said. This, without names, is perfectly substantiated by the representation of Visconti himself, in a letter of the 27th of July; who complains, that the theologians continued the offence of lengthiness. The theologians, however, at last agreed in a doctrine on the subject, consisting of four long chapters, and fortified by several canons. As these were not finally adopted, it is of no adequate importance to transcribe them.

They came to the criticism of the fathers on the 11th of August; when it was debated, whether the canons should be preceded by a statement of doctrine, or not*. There were three opinions on the subject. Some would have it altogether omitted, others would have a simple declaration without reasons; the greater part were for clear and solid doctrine, supported by the best arguments and authorities. The first argued, that the heretics would be little likely to be convinced by arguments, being chiefly from traditions, which they despised; and that the catholics needed nothing in that way†. The second adduced reasons which are obvious. The third, rather more original, maintained, that the synod sustained the character, not only of a judge, but of a teacher and parent, ready to give a reason of its acts, and more prepared to win the hearts of the heretics by argument,

* The cardinal of Augsburg, in a letter of his to cardinal and legate Hosius, dated July 14, 1562, referring to this question, when started before by the legates, writes, Probatur mihi et tua et Canisii ratio docendi prius quam execrandi. I refer to it for the *execrandi*, which signifies the canons with their anathema. How coolly do Romanists talk of *cursing* those whom they esteemed heretics! This letter occurs in Jul. Pogiani Epp. vol. iii. Rom. 1757.

† See to the same purpose in the sequel.

than to exterminate them by the sword. The logic of the last prevailed.

This determination, our author relates, introduced a serious disputation among the fathers, whether Christ offered himself for human redemption at the supper, or on the cross. This question, which had formerly been omitted, now engrossed the whole attention and energies of the fathers, and there were four opinions upon it. It is unnecessary to particularize. There was of course truth intermingled, but smothered. It may readily be imagined, why many of the Roman church contended for the redemption being made in the supper. Others held *that* sacrifice not to be expiatory but eucharistic. They talked of a double oblation, one general, the other spiritual, and supported their distinction by various subtleties. A third party, as usual, reconciled the opposite ones, either by uniting both, or steering the middle way between them.

The question then of the mass in the vulgar tongue came to be stated, and precedent was adduced in its favour, but the fog of papal superstition extinguished the feeble taper.

In consequence, however, of these discussions the proposed doctrine was remodelled, and assumed the general form in which it was established at the session. We have now, in regular form, the dogma of a proper sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, supported by the sacerdotal character and act of Melchisedec, the well-known passage of Malachi, and the analogy with the sacrifices of the Jews and heathens, as represented in the first of St. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians*, and so on, with suitable anathematizing canons, the

* All this is duly introduced into the first chapter of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, established at the session; and this would be sufficient, if no other proof were adducible of the importance put by Romanists upon these scriptural arguments for their sacrifice of the mass, and the exclusive priesthood of their church. The character and assumed sacrificial acts of Melchisedec are their principal reliance, as they are first in order. It is, therefore, less matter of surprise than of regret and reprobation that

third of which is,—'If any one shall say, that by these words, "Do this in remembrance of me," Christ did not institute and ordain the apostles priests to offer his body and blood, let him be anathema.'

On the 7th of September the opinions of the fathers were taken afresh, when the archbishop of Granada set upon the third canon, contending, not only that it more properly belonged to the sacrament of order, but that many names of high authority in the church referred the ordination of the apostles, not to the words alleged, but to those in which our Lord, addressing them, said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' Many from this beginning anticipated a prolix disputation; but, adds the historian, it pleased the divine benignity, that others who spake on the same side were short; and although one enlarged in a rather troublesome manner upon the popular superstitions which might seem to be sanctioned by what is said of the effects of the sacrificial mass, yet the majority approved the doctrine proposed with wonderful consent, and

the commissioners of education of the poor in Ireland, in the first number of the lessons recommended, and virtually enjoined by their authority and the authority of government, have lent and surrendered themselves to the wishes and interests of a church most hostile, and particularly in this instance, to what ought to be their own. In the prominence and form, which they have given to this portion of sacred history, and more particularly in the compromise which they have made of the truth of translation, they have discovered an indifference of religious principle, if not of partiality to error, which is greatly to be deplored. Our authorized translation of Gen. xiv. 18, which is just, whatever be the consequence, 'and he *was* the priest,' &c. is, in the lessons, '*being* a priest.' Now the first translation leaves *undetermined* any connexion between the bringing forth bread and wine, even if *that* could be proved to be any thing more than administering suitable refreshment; but the other evidently *implies* such a connexion, agreeably to the vulgate *erat enim*. But it will be said this is not going the whole length; no, it is not giving up the whole truth, for it is only giving up *half*. But how stands the truth, if the vulgate is not the original? והוא כהן לאל עליון; and how will any honest man translate this but as *our* translators have done? To cut off subterfuge, there are no various readings in De Rossi. The plain inference to be made respecting the principle of the government plan of education for Ireland is painful, but necessary. The inference is both painful and necessary, that our present government think of Christianity very nearly as the profligate Dean Swift did of music.

were filled with joy both at the effect and the brevity of the discussion, ascribing the whole to the present grace of the Holy Spirit.

But as Satan—this is closely the language of the original —never ceases to scatter around the seeds of discord, and to unsettle what is settled, four Spanish prelates, he of Granada one, required of the legates an audience on the very next day, when they declared that they were urged by their office and their conscience, to open their minds and say, that they could never approve the promulgation of the third canon in the present session. Their reasons were, that it had been discussed but imperfectly, either by the divines or the fathers, and that the fathers were not united in their opinion on the subject. They thought it therefore best to defer the matter to a future session. Hosius, who had committed himself by a publication on the question, modestly opposed them. It happened, however, that the day before the session, the 16th of September, when every thing appeared to be settled, and the congregation was preparing for departure, the Spanish prelate put himself forward, and commenced a long attack upon the third canon, alleging, that Dionysius, Maximus, and Chrysostom, contradicted it, assigning the sacerdotal ordination of the apostles, not to the holy supper, but to the day of pentecost, at the miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit. This was a signal for much strife of tongues, which the legate Hosius attempted to pacify, by distinguishing into two parts the power conferred upon the apostles, one of which was given at the supper, the other at the pentecost. One bishop, probably anticipating the contest, had furnished himself with a written list of arguments in favour of the canon, which was read, and others joined him. The tumult, however, increased, and it required the assisting management of two more of the legates to bring the meeting to a peaceable close. The means did not escape without censure; for Simonetta seems to have expressed himself as relying upon the obstinacy of those who favoured the canon to an extent which might be interpreted to

imply, that they were perfect proof against, any opposing arguments, however conclusive and convincing. So far the business of the council had proceeded relative to the mass.

The next division is the use of the Cup, or communion in both kinds. The Emperor of Germany was urgent for this indulgence to his subjects, and upon a prior application to that purpose his holiness had, a few months before, referred the matter to the deliberation of the council.

The bishop of the five churches accordingly, in the name of his master, frequently applied to the legates for this concession by the authority of the synod. He urged, that if it were granted, there were hopes, that those who separated from the Roman church might return to it, when dreadful wars and consequent bloodshed were anticipated as the consequence of refusal. The legates suggested that the favour might be granted by his holiness to some, for a place and a time, but that the fathers could never be prevailed upon to give it generally their authority. The bishop was confounded; but after expressing the highest opinion of the dignity and authority of the pope, he observed, that the emperor and his subjects would be much disappointed at the result, since his holiness had pledged himself to the imperial ambassador, that the affair should be left to the determination of the synod. If, therefore, now it should be sent back from the synod to his holiness, he feared the people would suspect that their sovereign of set purpose was trifled with. He, therefore, earnestly besought the legates to allow the subject to be proposed to the council. Two papers, the one a long, and the other an abridged one, containing the reasons in favour of the request, had been composed; and the legates were requested to direct them to be read by the fathers previously to the discussion of their contents, to which the chief legate seemed to assent.

The longer document appears in the collection of Le Plat; the shorter is given by Paleotto.

It is needless to detail obvious particulars, but it deserves to be noticed, that the demand of the cup is represented as

proceeding, not merely from the lower classes, but from the nobles and barons.

The French ambassadors presented a petition to the same purpose.

The legates, wishing to accommodate themselves to all parties, resolved upon two decrees, in one of which the synod declares, that the cup may be, and the most holy pontiff is willing that it should be, allowed to some people on reasonable grounds; in the other, that the authority to allow it should rest on some bishops in the particular places, under certain conditions. This method was approved by his holiness. The legates, however, understanding the aversion of the fathers, abandoned the plan, and determined that the matter should be treated in the usual way, and after some apologies presented two new propositions.

Much interest and agitation were excited on this subject; and the day before taking the votes, the 28th of August, the bishop of the five churches, as imperial ambassador, addressed the congregation in a long speech, in which he said that Cæsar confessed and lamented, that the desire of the cup was the disease of his provinces, and throughout he commended himself as a most devoted son of the Roman church. Much discussion followed. The observations of the archbishop of Rossano were among the most remarkable. He enlarged upon the difficulty of preserving the wine from natural changes, and presumed desecrations, and added, that in many populous parishes, on a festival, the quantity consumed would be so great, that flagons and casks would be necessary. The archbishop of Braga described four sorts of minds on the subject, to the last of which, the infirm, he was of opinion no concession should be made. The archbishop of Lanciano was of a different opinion. The substance of the speeches of the fathers is given in great and patient detail by our author, and probably with as much integrity; but throughout there is really such an absence of legitimate and scriptural reasoning, that it will be deemed sufficient simply to say, that there was some variation in

their sentiments. It may not, however, be irrelevant or unimportant to notice the address of the concluding speaker, the well-known Lainez, general of the Jesuits. He, of course, was unfavourable to the concession of the cup, and would have the bishops and pastors more attended to than the emperor, who was rather a son than the protector of the church. Nor let us fear, addressing the fathers directly, he adds, that if the assistance of princes fail, *that* of God will do so likewise, since with an intrepid faith we even remember that the holy church, founded on the most precious blood of his son, although it may be reduced to a small number, shall yet never perish. This comes from a captain in the host of papal Philistines, who are ever casting in the teeth of a reformed, that is, a true church, that she traces her succession through the diminished numbers of the faithful in the valleys of the north of Italy—numbers which the apostate church of that Italy contrived to make and keep diminished. She is welcome to the whole benefit of her multitude, with the seductions by which it is secured, and the barbarity with which it has been protected, hanging about her neck.

Our author seems to exult in the variety and liberty displayed in the scenes which he had been describing, and proceeds to notice the extravagance of a regular canon, who asserted, that the proposed concession savoured of heresy. The zealot was reproved by the president, and made an apology*.

The bishop of Philadelphia proposed, that the imperial ambassadors should not be present at the discussions respecting the cup. The bishop of Cahorle contradicted

* This fact is mentioned more strongly by Visconti in a letter of the 7th of September, where he calls him General of the Order, and makes him say that the demand of the cup savoured not only of heresy, but of mortal sin. It may be proper here to adduce the speech of the bishop of Cava, (particularly as it confirms the veracity of Sarpi,) who, opposing the demand of the cup, said, that it ought by no means to be granted, although the ruin of many souls should be the consequence—non si doveva concedere in verun modo, se bene ne dovesse succedere la perdita di molti anime. Visconti, Lett. Aug. 31, 1562.

with great warmth, and repeated, that if the cup were not allowed, it was hardly possible that the synod could succeed. This sentence was traced to the bishop of the five churches in the varied form, that in such case it would have been better that the council had never had a beginning*.

The historian contents himself for the remainder of the discussions on this subject with giving a summary of the arguments on both sides. The votes are enumerated, but are of little importance.

When the ambassador understood how the matter was determined, he was much disturbed. He therefore pressed the legates to refer the subject to the pope, securing at the same time the consent of his holiness to the wishes of the emperor. He believed, that such a concession alone would reconcile the Germans to the doctrine to be established respecting the mass. The legates, too, were apprehensive of the opposition of the ambassador in the latter particular, if the former were not in some way complied with. They therefore directed the auditor to draw up a form of a decree, which should satisfy him. This was done; but it did not satisfy him; and another was composed. This the fathers did not approve; for, in their view, it superseded the prudence of the pontiff, to whom the whole council was judged inferior. They condemned it, however, only by a majority of 79 to 69. The president, finding that nothing would content the fathers but an *absolute* reference to the pope, proposed a third form, which was discussed by them on the 16th of September. The debate was warm; but Simonetta so effectually allayed it, that, as our author expresses himself, by God's assistance, the decree was carried by 98 against 38: and the pontiff's honour, as arbiter, was established. Paleotto exults in this termination, and in the defeat of the imputed policy of the imperial ambassador.

We are now arrived at the eagerly-pursued object—Reformation. A long and elaborate memorial was exhibited on

* Visconti, Lett. ubi supra.

the same to the council from the emperor. And the legates, in order that they might shew him due respect, extracted from it two points to be proposed to the fathers: the first, relating to the discipline and dress of clerics, the other to the manner of performing divine offices, which was referred to the head of abuses of the mass, and will be hereafter considered.

In the mean time, Fourteen Canons of Reformation, which are transcribed at length, were prepared for the examination of the congregation. These were adopted with but little alteration at the session. The debates which took place on the subject have nothing either of interest or value in them.

The last of the four divisions presented to the reader in the original before us is, the Abuses of the Mass. And here we may observe, to the same purpose as before, that the decrees proposed differ so little from those which were approved and promulgated at the session, that it is a needless anticipation to offer any remarks upon them in their primitive and unauthentic form.

Our author observes, that there were many disposed to abolish what are called missæ siccæ, that is, masses, in which all the rites were observed except consecration; but that, upon more mature consideration, it was resolved to make no innovation; both because in the books which are called sacerdotal, their use appeared to be allowed, and because, in maritime excursions, the requisites of the sacrament could not always be obtained, and therefore a memorial alone is of value; added to which, in many places, the ministry necessary to consecration was not present. The only possible substitute, therefore, in such cases, was not to be prohibited.

In the mean time, letters came from Rome announcing, that the French ambassador had applied to his holiness that the session should be deferred in order to wait the arrival of the French prelates. Visconti, in the ciphered part of a letter of the 4th of September, writes, that Lanssac required that the session should not meet until the 20th of October, when twenty doctors would come from Paris; and he adds, that the French prelates were determined to bring on the

question, whether the pope were, or were not, superior to the council. The Spaniards would join them in this attempt; and he had been told by one of the legates, that the cardinal of Lorraine always discovered a wish to disturb and diminish the authority of the apostolic see, and to do all in his power that the sacred college should not continue the influence which it possessed in the pontificate.

It may be proper here to refer to the letter immediately preceding, of the 3rd of September, which recognizes not only the meeting of a German diet, which was always a formidable thing, at Frankfort, but another fact or speculation of more importance. The writer was in the confidence, and knew the mind, of his holiness sufficiently well. He repeats the report, that the prolongation of the council would produce finally some impediment to the object desired; and he had reason to fear *that* event from the prolixity of speech in which the prelates indulged themselves. He accordingly suggests the advantage which may be taken from the scarcity of grain then prevailing; that since neither the suspension nor the translation of the council were feasible, when the prelates begin to complain of the scarcity, which cannot be considered as produced artificially, his holiness may call the council to himself, stating, that he desires to be present in it; and it is probable, if this were proposed, that all the prelates, except the ultramontanists, would consent*.

The historian has made a slight reference, rather out of place, to the letter of the king of Spain to his ambassador, the Marquess of Pescara at Trent, expressing his consent, that the disputation in favour of residence by his bishops should be discontinued. This we had learnt from Visconti before. Aud we now further learn from him something of the results. The nuncio, writing on the 10th of August, that he had obtained information of a letter composed by Granada and Segovia, in answer to this of their sovereign,

* —— sendo cosa che non parera fatta con arte, attesa la carestia che è quasi universale; e che sua santita convocasse à se il concilio, con dire, che si vuole intravenire, et e verisimile, che proponendosi, &c.

complaining, firstly, of his holiness' aversion to the discussion of residence, and his invasion, in this instance, of the liberty of the council; then, of the legates, that they had not permitted the subject to be freely debated; lastly, of his majesty himself, as discouraging so holy a declaration, as they call it, subjoining many lies for the purpose of more effectually persuading his majesty. They mean it to be understood, that all the ambassadors, and both parties of the prelates agree with them, which was not the fact. They add, that they did not intend to protest, when it was known, that they had already deputed three prelates for that purpose. The letter was subscribed by all the Spanish prelates, except eight*. In a subsequent letter the nuncio mentions, with apparent exultation, his having obtained a copy of this letter; and in the next he again notices it, as a proof that the minds of the Spanish prelates were not quieted by the means which their sovereign employed for that purpose. In the continuation of the ciphered part of this letter, (the date is the 17th of August,) the writer observes, that the legates intended taking the votes of the congregation as to referring the declaration of residence to his holiness, which, if carried, he continues, may remove existing difficulties, by enabling his holiness to evade such declaration by publishing a bull, binding the prelates to residence; which would satisfy more effectually than by

* This letter is extant in the volume entitled Varia Tractata, dated the 10th of August, 1562, and in Spanish. The account given of it by Visconti is by no means a fair one, although it touches upon the main points of its contents. The writers state the promise of the legates as the principal ground of their persevering in their application respecting the discussion of residence: the first point of continuation they leave. They say they had made no protestation: it does not appear that they promised to make none. They represent the cause as necessary and important, tracing back the disorders and abuses in the church to the source of non-residence. They supplicate his majesty to favour the only proper remedy by not forbidding the subject to be brought forward; and complaining, that the reformations proposed were comparatively of trifling importance, trust that the Christian world will not be disappointed of the great remedy which they expected from such an assemblage of prelates.

suppressing the subject. But all would depend upon the movements of the Spaniards.

In the postscript of a letter of the 14th of September, and in cipher, Visconti plainly relates, that by the representation of the bishop of Philadelphia, the Germans expected grave and important matters under the head of reformation, and particularly pluralities, to be deliberated upon by the council. The prelates of Conimbra and Paris said, that reform was wanted both in the head and members, and the latter, that he wished the French prelates to have expressed themselves to the same purpose. Segovia wished for such a reform as physicians apply to the sick who need efficacious remedies: *they* use liniments and unguents.

The day of session, the 17th of September, which had now arrived, was celebrated with the usual solemnities and acts. The decrees and canons, which may be seen in every collection, were read.

The decree is divided into nine chapters. The general subject is, the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass; and the subjects of the different chapters are—its institution; its being propitiatory for the living and dead; masses in honour of the saints; the canon of the mass; the ceremonies attending it; private masses; the mixture of water with the wine; celebration in the vulgar tongue; a prolegomenon to the following canons.

The canons, which are nine, anathematize those—who deny that in the offering of the mass there is a true and proper sacrifice; that Christ instituted the apostles priests, by the words, 'This do' &c.; who assert, that the sacrifice is commemorative and not propitiatory; that it is blasphemous or derogatory to the actual sacrifice of the cross; that it is an imposture to celebrate masses to the saints, in order to obtain their intercession, as the church intends*; that the canon of the mass contains errors, and is therefore to be abolished; that the ceremonies, vestments, and sig-

* —— sicut ecclesia intendit.

nificant acts, in the celebration, rather excite impiety than piety; that masses in which the priest alone communicates are unlawful and to be abrogated; and that using a low voice in consecrating is to be condemned, or that the mass should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, or that a mixture of water with the wine is not to be used, as contrary to the institution of Christ.

A decree follows of what is to be observed and what avoided in the celebration of the mass.

The decree of Reformation contains eight chapters. They are mostly ecclesiastical regulations, either obvious or of inferior importance. The sixth, directing that last wills are to be altered circumspectly, announces an authority trenching upon the civil. There is an additional decree concerning the petition for the concession of the cup, deferring the determination upon it.

The next session was announced, as to take place on the 12th of November following, when the subject for enactment would be, the sacraments, of order, of matrimony, &c. The session, however, was prorogued to the 15th of July, 1563.

Although the decrees proposed were carried, there was no small number of dissentients. On the mass, the archbishop of Granada maintained the objections which he had formerly made, and added, that the assertion of Christ's offering himself in the supper was exceptionable, since the holy doctors declare, that he did this once. The protest of the bishop of Segovia is remarkable, not only for its good reasoning, but for adducing a passage as forming a part of the decree, which does not appear in the present copies of it. 'Likewise what is affirmed in the doctrine, that by this most 'holy offering, and unbloody sacrifice, of the altar, all the sa- 'crifices of nature and the law are perfected and consum- 'mated, is disapproved, as well because it derogates much 'from the bloody sacrifice of the cross, which was the fulfilment 'of all that was figured, and of which that venerable sacrifice

'of the altar is commemorative, and from which alone it 'derives its force; and also, because neither scripture nor 'legitimate tradition affirms this*.' Several other prelates followed, expressing sentiments in different ways similar. On the decree of the concession of the cup, there was likewise a considerable degree of dissatisfaction, either absolutely or in particular respects. The names are given in detail. Nothing passed unanimously but the appointment of the next day of session.

The usual persons, and about the usual number were present. Of the most efficient class, the prelates, there were, according to both Servantio and Le Plat, 162.

Visconti, in a letter of the date of the session, is exhilarated at the manner in which it terminated. He expresses his thanks to God, that the canons and decrees were approved with less contradiction, and greater satisfaction and joy than could well be believed. He reckons the number of prelates present at 180. He adds, (which discovers his authority in the council,) that when the printing of the decrees was in contemplation, he intimated to the legates that they should not be printed. He mentions it as a report, that the cardinal of Lorraine, when he makes his appearance, will require the use of the cup for France, and likewise the removal of images. He was also informed, that the bishop of the Five Churches, on the day before, assembled the ambassadors of France, Portugal, and Switzerland, and endeavoured to persuade them to insist upon the matter of reform, and to postpone doctrine; which was of no use, he continues, since the incredulous and obstinate would not be induced to make any change, and the catholics had

* Item quod in doctrina dicitur per hanc altaris hostiam sacrosanctam, et sacrificium incruentum omnia sacrificia naturæ et legis perfici et consummari; tum quia derogat multum sacrificio crucis cruento, cujus omne [quod omnis?] quod figuratur complementum fuit, et cujus istud venerabile altaris sacrificium rememorativum est, et a quo solo habet vim suam; tum quia non est scriptura, neque legitima traditio quæ hoc affirmet.

no need of further instruction. The same counsel had been suggested at an early period in the preparation for this session*.

To enter at any length into an examination of the doctrine and reformation established at the session would require considerable space, and is not at all the professed or necessary undertaking of the present work. It only requires to be remarked, that if the epithets applied to the *sacrifice of the mass*, or the sacrament of the Lord's supper, mean anything, they express a palpable falsehood; for sacrifice, in a *true* and *proper* sense, it is none at all. The very additional epithet, *unbloody*, is a perfect and decisive demonstration of this; for it is of the essence of a sacrifice that it should be bloody, that it should be made a sacrifice by the loss of blood, or of life. If the epithets mean only, or allow to be meant, that the sacrifice is a figurative or *improper* one simply, this is to say, that it is neither a true nor a proper one; that is, in one word, that the whole parade of conciliar definition is a fallacy, a deception.

Session XXIII.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Order—*Reformation:* Residence, Ecclesiastical Regulations.

The session to which we are now approaching is eminently memorable for the contentions and hazards by which it was signalized. For, what never had occurred before, it was prorogued eight times, it was agitated for ten months with unceasing disputes, it lost two of its illustrious legates by death, and other events of importance followed†.

After the close of the former session, the legates imme-

* See Letter of the 6th of August.

† This exordium of the auditor, in some degree, reminds us of the sentence with which Tacitus opens his *Histories*. Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox prœliis, discors seditionibus, ipsâ pace sævum. Quatuor principes ferro interempti, &c. Hist. i., ii.

diately employed suitable persons, among whom was the auditor, to collect the subjects proper for consideration by the council. They accordingly put forth certain articles on the subject of the sacrament of order, to be examined by the theologians. It was with a design, which will evidently appear, that these articles were heretical ones to be condemned, not, as was frequently the case, simple questions to be discussed.

These articles, contractedly, were, that order is not a sacrament, but a right; that it is rather a human figment; that the inferior degrees of order do not partake of the nature of a sacrament; that an ecclesiastical hierarchy is a nullity, and that all Christians are likewise priests; that no visible priesthood is discoverable in the New Testament, and that none are priests who do not preach; that unction is of no value, and that the holy spirit is not imparted by ordination; finally, that bishops are not superior to priests.

Regulations were then issued to be observed by the theologians in examining the articles of the sacraments of order and of matrimony. Among these, as before, the principal one was, that the speeches should be limited to half an hour. The theologians were divided into three classes, and their names are specified.

In the course of these preparations, the French ambassadors announced the apprehension of their sovereign, that as the adversaries, on whose account principally the council was convened, were not present at the past discussions, it might be said, that the council was fighting with a shadow, and that it was easy to settle matters without an opponent. He therefore desired, that, as far as *doctrine* was concerned, decision should be deferred. The legates answered, that as to *manners* they had no objection; but as to doctrine they could not comply, since the adversaries, so long expected, had pertinaciously refused their attendance at the synod. The imperial ambassador expressed a wish, nearly similar to that of the French, on the part of his Majesty, which was met by the council in the same manner.

The disputations had begun among the theologians on the subject of order, when some of the Spanish prelates complained grievously to Seripando, that among the articles proposed on this subject was omitted *that* which had been presented to the theologians in the council under Julius III, and in which it was contained, that episcopacy is of divine right, and bishops superior to presbyters. Seripando answered, that in *that* point there was no controversy with the heretics; it was therefore justly omitted. They rejoined, that Luther denied bishops to be of divine right. Seripando showed, that Luther admitted the institution of episcopacy to be of divine right; but asserted that the rites attached to it were human inventions. They were not satisfied, and expressed their fear, that if this article were omitted, a question would arise whether residence were of divine right. In which, says the historian, they were not much deceived, since the legates wished to deprive the fathers of all opportunity of discussing residence; indeed, when the theologians happened to touch upon the subject, as they often did, they were authoritatively reminded to keep to the matter before them*.

The congregations now commenced; and Seripando, in the absence of Mantua, addressing the fathers in a suitable speech, directed them to digest canons of doctrine, while the legates turned their attention to the subject of reformation.

The legates, however, felt the delicacy and difficulty of their situation, and resolved to do nothing without consulting his holiness. They therefore, without loss of time, despatched a letter to him, informing him of the state of things in the council, and particularly of the urgency of the fathers to bring on, in the first instance, the controversy concerning residence. They suggested, that either nothing new should be decreed upon the subject, since the decree published under Paul III was sufficient; or the whole should be

* In quo sane non admodum illi fallebantur, omnem siquidem disceptandi de residentia occasionem patribus ademptam legati voluerunt, imo cum theologi, &c.

referred to the will of his holiness; or a new decree should be formed by the council, omitting the definition of the divine right, but accompanied with various penalties and rewards*. The legates, in the mean time, would sound the minds of the fathers, before they met in congregation. Various methods for allaying the excitation on the question were excogitated, and suggested to the legates.

A report at this time prevailed, that the cardinal of Lorraine and the French bishops would shortly appear at Trent. It was likewise reported, that the supreme pontiff was every day sending thither bishops from the city; that he applied to the ambassador of Venice to compel the bishops of that state to repair to the council; and that he sent a cardinal into the kingdom of Naples enjoining him to employ ecclesiastical censures for the purpose of making the bishops there leave their country for Trent. There were persons, our author writes, who carped at the pontiff for sending to the synod bishops of inferior qualifications, as if he regarded rather number, than weight and value. It was likewise objected, that his holiness readily granted licences of absence to those prelates residing at Trent, who were favourable to the divine right, although men of eminence and merit. These, however, are represented as uncandid and unfounded surmises.

A letter from Rome arrived, approving the addition of heavier penalties to non-residence, and referring the whole subject of residence to the prudence of the legates.

By the 9th of October, so much progress was made by the fathers, that doctrine and canons on the Sacrament of Order were drawn out in due and lengthened form. We shall understand enough of their contents by the strictures and observations made by different fathers upon them.

The archbishop of Granada, perhaps rather hypercritically, excepted against the expression, that the inferior orders ascend through the middle, since *they* do not ascend, but the *cleric* by them. With more weight and justice, he contended for the two articles which had a place under Julius III,—

* See to the same purpose Visconti, Lett. Oct. 3 and Oct. 22, 1562.

the divine right of episcopacy, and the superiority of bishops to presbyters, since the Centuriators openly asserted, that presbyters were equal to bishops. Hosius here repeated, that this was no controversy with the heretics; for the Confession of Augsburg asserted, that bishops were instituted by divine right*. The archbishop replied, if this were acknowledged by that confession, and were true, why should the council be ashamed to assent to it? Another prelate observed, that the council had to do, not with the Confession of Augsburg alone, but with other heresies. Another, that the heretics asserted, that the apostles were ordained to preach, and nothing else. One of the fathers thought that the synod should be terminated as soon as possible, since many of them were troubled with severe catarrhs, and the adversaries were absent. One contended, that episcopacy should not be excluded from order, that is, a separate one from presbyters, the attempt being only to distinguish them by degree. An endless variety of opinion was delivered by different speakers; and the General of the Jesuits closed the whole, who, in advocating the known sentiments and interests of the papacy, was apprehensive that he might be suspected of having taken that course because his order depended upon the pontiff. Our author, however, endeavours to rescue him from this suspicion, and expresses his assurance that Lainez spoke from his honest convictions.

The deputation of fathers was directed, in consequence of these discussions, to compose new doctrine and canons. But having laboured in vain to satisfy all parties, the legates endeavoured to compound, by assembling the Spaniards, and persuading them to make no public exhibition of their opposition. Their old friend, Granada, still insisted upon the reappearance of the clause recognizing the divine right of episcopacy, as under Julius III. Mantua, and afterwards Hosius, repeated, that nothing would be gained by such a determination, as it was not contested by the heretics. This

* This, from a letter of Visconti, we learn, was preconcerted. See of the date of Oct. 22, and previously one of the 18th.

answer was not likely to satisfy the objectors, nor did it. When the Spaniards departed, the legates, conceiving that their petition was not absurd, obtained that a canon should be constructed agreeable to their request, and at the same time equally defending the power of the pope over the bishops. When this canon was published, there were various opinions concerning it even among the Italians. Many, however, dissented, lest they should appear to pay respect to the Spaniards. Others wished the dispute to continue, because, having written in favour of the papal power, they hoped to acquire credit, and its consequences, with his holiness; but they were opposed by others, who thought, that as the holy see possessed quiet enjoyment of supreme jurisdiction, nothing would be gained to it by discussion and agitation.

It is remarkable, that Seripando, who from ill health was absent from the consultations on the subject, condemned the canon as more advantageous to the heretics than to his holiness, whose authority was too faintly recognized in it. The very words, divine right, were odious at Rome, where it was suspected, that something even further was concealed under them. The legates, therefore, determined upon a new and different form: they, however, thought better of the subject, and allowed the first to stand. But again, Seripando recollected the observation of Soto, that the Spaniards desired nothing new, but simply, that there should be no detraction from antient right. A fresh canon was the result.

On the 13th of December the cardinal of Lorraine, with fourteen prelates, made his entrance into Trent. After, however, having been received in the council, and addressed it in a public capacity, he announced, that in future he should leave the affairs of his nation to the ambassadors, and sustain simply a private character, pursuing the interests of the country and the church. He added, that it was his and his countrymen's expectation, that no common thing would be effected in the way of reformation by the council. After the royal letter was read, his eminence addressed the synod in a long and elaborate speech, in which he lamented the preva-

lence of heresy; entered with minute detail into the alleged, and doubtless exaggerated, outrages of the Gallic reformers, carefully pretermitting those of the good Catholics, to whose brutal bigotry in the first instance, instigated and animated during its long and ruthless career by himself and his brother, even the unjustifiable retaliations of the Huguenots ought, in all fairness, and in the main, to be ascribed; and then sought for the remedy of these tumults in the enactments of a council, which could only attempt the remedy by continued or increased application of the same coercive barbarity as was already adopted*. An answer was directed by the chief president to be made by a prelate; which was accordingly done with all the courtly phraseology and pompous inanity which usually distinguish such effusions.

The ambassador du Ferrier followed in a speech of some freedom and wholesome truth; and it is remarkable for the well-known passage, in which the speaker, directing himself personally to the most holy fathers, proceeds—'Unless this,' the reformation recommended, 'be done, it is in vain that 'you ask us whether France be in peace; for we shall 'answer you as Jehu did king Joram, asking whether it were

* Upon the frequently alleged equality of outrages in the present instance, I have said something in my Life and Pont. of St. Pius V, pp. 59 and following, and Appendix; and I wish to add something here. It is a common and compendious method of disposing of complicated historical questions to infer, that because there are faults on both sides, therefore the faults are equal. But it is hard, if in some cases truth and proportion are not a little plainer. I beg, therefore, in the present case, just to suggest—1. What was the *substance* of the outrages respectively? The Huguenots chiefly demolished the *images* in the churches of their opponents; those opponents slaughtered *their persons*. This is the representation of a papist. See Smedley's Hist. of Ref. Religion in France, vol. i, pp. 236-7. 2. Who gave the provocation, and *what* was the provocation? 3. What part did the *Leaders* take?—which did they respectively instigate, sanction, and approve, or the contrary? 4. What were, and are, the respective *principles of the two religions?* what does each encourage, commend, justify, and command? These are the considerations necessary to an equitable judgment on the subject. The acts of the soldiery, except when proved to act under the influence of their leaders, are no fair subjects of criticism on either side.

'peace—what hast thou to do with peace, so long as—you 'know the rest.'

The second form of the doctrine and canons of the sacrament of order was proposed on the 30th of October; and they are transcribed by Paleotto at length. The last, or seventh, canon deserves to be presented to the reader; as no single canon in the synod excited so hot and obstinate contest among the fathers, or rather the two parties, on the subject into which they were divided.

'If any one shall say, that it was not instituted by Christ 'the Lord, that there should be bishops in the Catholic 'Church, and that, when they are assumed by the Roman 'pontiff, his vicar on earth, into part of his solicitude, they 'are not true and legitimate bishops, superior to presbyters, 'and that they do not enjoy the same dignity, and the same 'power, which they have obtained to the present time; let 'him be anathema *.'

This canon seems by the sequel to have been, as it were, the standard for the preservation, seizure, or recovery of which the most determined efforts of the two hostile ranks were employed, and which repeatedly came into the possession of one or other of them, according to the fortunes of this theologic war.

It is hardly possible that the reader should not have observed throughout the preceding history the extreme dread manifested by the pontiff of Rome at divine right any where but in himself. The first object of horror was the claim of such right, as it respected residence; but the divine right of residence, and that of the episcopal order, by which it was to be exercised, rested precisely upon the same foundation,

* Si quis dixerit non fuisse a Christo Domino institutum, ut essent in Ecclesia Catholica Episcopi, ac eos, cum in partem sollicitudinis a Pontifice Romano, ejus in terris Vicario, assumuntur, non esse veros et legitimos Episcopos, Presbyteris superiores, et eâdem dignitate, eâdemque potestate non potiri, quam ad hæc usque tempora obtinuerunt: Anathema sit. It will be observed that I have translated as literally as possible, in order that there might be no misrepresentation of the meaning.

and the latter was not in better favour than the former. Hence the pontifical advocates, with their client, wished to amalgamate the orders of bishop and presbyter in the one order of priest, assigning to the bishop no superiority but that of degree. Hence, too, the predilection for the hypothesis of a hierarchy, which, as it existed among the Jews, presented the alluring exemplar of a sacred society composed of priests and their one ruler, the high priest, alone. The simple superiority of a Christian bishop would not satisfy the aim and pretensions of the bishop of Rome, because that superiority was shared with many. The titles of archbishop, patriarch, and even primate, were as little satisfactory, for there was a division of honour and authority in them. But the High Priest, on the Jewish model, or the Pontifex Maximus, on the perhaps more familiar and cherished heathen one, was a title, which would answer every claim or desire, to its most ambitious extent, of a spiritual monarch, the one head of Christendom, the one successor of the chief of the apostles, the one Vicar of Christ. It will excite no wonder that the election and coronation of so august a personage should be transferred from the Pontificale, which puts him in the company of other bishops, to the Ceremoniale, which associates him with secular monarchs, with kings and emperors.

We return to our guide, and to the reception which he represents as given to the canon in its new form. Nearly the first, and certainly the most important, speaker upon the subject was the regular opponent of most of the legantine proposals. He objected principally to three things: 1, to the assumed title Vicar of Christ, since bishops were successors of the apostles, and consequently vicars of Christ, acknowledging, however, a superior, who was vicar to them; 2, to the expression of bishops being called to a part of the pontiff's solicitude, since they ought to be represented as called by God; and 3, to the contradiction to a prior canon, that bishops were instituted by divine right. Several fathers followed in a similar strain. Some, of course,

were in favour of the canon; and the archbishop of Lanciano in particular argued that the omission of the words 'divine right' did not imply denial, since minor truths are often suppressed that they may not injure major ones: as in the synodical prohibition of the title Christotocos applied to the Virgin Mary, lest it should appear to exclude *that* other of θεοτόκος. One sagaciously enough observed, that it was nowhere read, that Christ instituted that there should be bishops, but that he created them himself. The bishop of Chioggia said, that as the pope was chief monarch, the principle of the hierarchy required, that all powers, as rivers from the fountain, and rays from the sun, should be derived from him. This prelate, who was formerly ridiculed for his poverty, and reprimanded for his heterodoxy, had learnt a new lesson. He of Conimbra objected to disputes about the power of the pope without his knowledge*. The Protestants might have claimed some benefit from this argument. The bishop of Modena, who was concerned in drawing up the form under discussion, was contented, that episcopacy should be declared of divine right, provided it might be added, by authority of the pope. There were various criticisms on other portions, as well as the seventh canon, although here was "the tug of war." Peter Danese, bishop of La Vaut, affirmed, that bishops were not only instituted by divine right, but in their own churches were equal to the Roman pontiff. The bishop of the five churches was desirous of dismissing all subtleties from the deliberations of the council, and declared, that to dispute about primacy and jurisdiction, was to deny the first principles of theology †. The bishop of Ostuni ventured to assert, in opposition to the representation, that those alone who were called by the pope were true bishops, that there were many true bishops of whom his holiness had no knowledge. The bishop of Guadix

* —— ipso inscio.

† Disputare autem de primatu et de jurisdictione, nil aliud esse quam negare prima principia theologiæ.

said, that there were as many points of doubt as sentences * in the seventh canon; and confirming the assertion, which had just been uttered, he said, that the archbishop of Saltzburg confirmed bishops elected by the chapter, who were true bishops, and the same was the case in many other instances.

These words produced a formidable uproar among the fathers, who exclaimed, that he should be heard no farther. Simonetta explained, that the archbishop consecrated, but his consecration was confirmed by the authority of the pope. In the mean time, other prelates reiterated the cry, Out with him! out with him! and others, Let him be anathematized! to whom Guerrero turning replied, Be ye anathematized! The Spanish prelate, however, never intermitted his speech, but amidst the clamours around him proceeded, declaring that the pope was the supreme vicar of God, and other things more palatable to the part of his audience whom he had so highly incensed; at the same time reprimanding them for not having the patience to hear him to the end. The cardinal of Mantua was much provoked by so indecorous an exhibition; and threatened, that if it were repeated he should withdraw. The cardinal of Lorraine joined in reprobating such conduct, and was very severe on those who exclaimed Anathema. He trusted, that the legates would maintain their dignity, and that such offences would in future be visited with condign punishment†. The congre-

* —— quot sunt ejus partes tot sunt dubia.

† Tunc prelati hoc audientes strepitum magnum excitaverunt clamantes, extra non audiatur. Verum Cardinalis Simonetta subjunxit, quod Salseburgensis consecratur (sic) et confirmatur authoritate papæ. Interea alii prelati ingeminabant clamantes, Exeat, exeat, et alii, Anathema sit: ad quos Granatensis conversus respondit, Anathema vos estis. Gadicensis vero sermonem nunquam intermisit, prosequens inter clamores, &c. The story of this riotous exhibition is given by another eye-witness with a variation very natural in an extract from a tract on the subject of the council by the bishop of Salamanca, as preserved in the royal library of Madrid, and presented for the first time in print by Villanueva, Vida Lit. Appendix at the end of the 2d volume, pp. 424, 5. Simonetta declared the opinion of the offending bishop to be *scandalous*, particularly at such a time. The riot began; and the

gation then proceeded; and after some other speeches the bishop of Aliffi*, said, that he should profess, until the synod determined the contrary, that bishops derived their power from Christ, and neither from St. Peter nor from the pope. He was here interrupted by the president Hosius, who said, that there was now no disputation concerning the power of the pope. Granada submitted, that liberty of speech should be allowed to all. The speaker continued, and claimed the privilege of obeying his conscience. The president complained, that many things were said foreign to the purpose, and that the heretics, who did not deny the institution of bishops by Christ, denied the validity of those promoted by the pope, and that this therefore was the position to be refuted. The cardinal of Lorraine then, for the first time, took his part in the deliberations of the congregation. In a long speech he supported and asserted the papal jurisdiction and prerogative to the full; and observed, that all the sects of heretics, however divided among themselves, were united in their hostility to the apostolic see. He, however, suggested an improvement in the seventh canon. When the bishops had spoken, the abbats and generals succeeded, and the business was at last closed.

When an end was put, says Paleotto, to the delivery of the opinions of the fathers, which by their prolixity and

patriarch of Venice called him a schismatic. Granada retorted the name. The narrator says of himself that he did not distinctly hear this (Yo no oì esto, aunque no estaba muy largo). But the uproar continuing, he raised himself, and said that such interruption was wrong; that the speaker should be heard to the end, and then it should be determined, whether he had said any thing worthy of reproof or chastisement. The bishop went on quietly as represented, and ended with an expression of acquiescence in the correction of the council if deserving of it. There is reason to believe that Paleotto's representation is the more accurate of the two; and he could hardly be mistaken in the word *Anathema* being repeated and animadverted upon by a subsequent speaker.

* He was a Spaniard, we are told in the same extract as is referred to in the last note, although his bishopric was in the kingdom of Naples. The attempt was made, says this authority, to cough him down when rather extendedly pressing the *jus divinum;* which was noticed by Lanssac, who wondered at the effect which the *jus divinum* had in producing catarrh.

acrimony had wearied the ears of those present, the judgments and censures passed upon them were various. The opposition of the Spaniards was charged to their self-interest and ambition, although at the same time credit was given to them as being actuated by conscientious zeal. That of the French was supposed, notwithstanding demonstrations to the contrary, to have been encouraged by Lorraine, particularly as it was pointedly manifested by the archbishop of Metz, who had been his tutor. The cardinal, however, laboured to exculpate himself with the legates, and said, that however he might err through impudence or imprudence, he was incapable of so disingenuous a course as that of simulation or cunning. Simonetta smiled, and taking him blandly by the hand, said that he had heard reports to the effect alluded to. The historian wonders, that the fathers should so unanimously and exclusively have fallen upon the point of Jurisdiction, which was neither proposed, nor necessary, nor suitable to the times, while they neglected other portions of doctrine. And hence many other things were called in question, which are matters of controversy, not with the heretics, but among theologians and canonists, and which ought therefore to have been abstained from, because they appear calculated only to nourish divisions and sects among the fathers, without any advantage*.

The legates were mortified to find that they made no ground, but on the contrary got farther involved in difficulties; they therefore consulted with the French cardinal, how to allay the existing controversies, and produce the desired harmony in the council. He proposed remodelling the seventh canon, which was the principal matter of discord; and it was accordingly divided into two, a seventh and an eighth, much extended. A private consultation of confidential advisers was held, and it was agreed by the majority, that the new canons could not be adopted for several reasons, the second of which, a very sufficient one, was, that by them

* —— a quibus abstinendum potius erat, quod hæc seditiones et sectas tantum inter Patres fovere, nec fructus afferre posse viderentur.

would be condemned an infinite number of theologians and canonists.

The legates in their distress applied to his holiness, who was in as great difficulty himself, and sent them directions to prorogue an announced session. Lorraine, when he came to know all this, was indignant, and the legates were more embarrassed; until at length Cardinal Borromeo advised them to open their minds to the Frenchman. The legates, not choosing to do this personally, employed some friends to perform the office; and the consequence was, a fresh seventh canon. This canon did not please his eminence, and he suggested another. The mediators objected that this form reduced the pope to a naked instrument*. Much deliberation took place, and it was concluded, that the subject should be reconsidered, and another meeting be convened. The legates, however, consult with other fathers, and agree, that the canon should confine itself to the proposed subject. Such was prepared; and, short as it was, it provided amply for the papal prerogative. Even this did not pass, and another was suggested.

While all these pains were being taken to bring the litigation on this subject to a satisfactory conclusion, a letter came from Rome, which threw the whole matter afresh into confusion. For it directed, that not only much alteration should be made in the old doctrine, but an eighth canon should be composed, amplifying, or at least confirming, the primacy and supreme authority of his holiness. Long annotations accompanied this communication.

The legates, convinced that if such a canon should be proposed, it would be the signal for fresh and more aggravated dissensions, concluded, with the advice of many fathers, that it would be better to state the case to his holiness than rashly to excite these new tragedies †. After consulting, however, with the Cardinal of Lorraine, who promised to assist them, they agreed, with some of the fathers, to present

* —— nudum instrumentum.

† — quam novas hasce tragedias temere excitare.

a threefold form of the seventh canon, with the addition of an eighth. Seripando considered this a happy opportunity of restoring concord and tranquillity, if it were not allowed to slip. They were, however, deceived in their reliance upon the professed assistance of the French cardinal, but they resolved to bear their disappointment with equanimity. The French prelates were offended at the introduction of the terms, 'the universal church,' in such a connexion as to imply the superiority of the pope to a council. This embroiled the French with the Portuguese fathers, who were devoted to the papal prerogative. In the midst of these perplexities, which rather increased, the legates were informed from Rome, that if matters could not otherwise be quieted, for the words 'the universal church' might be substituted 'the universal churches.' Another attempt to settle the endless, but not irrational or unaccountable, controversy respecting the institution and authority of bishops, was made by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and a new fifth chapter of doctrine, with a new seventh canon, was composed by him. But this measure failed, and the legates sent a statement of their difficulties again to his holiness. They were transmitted in April of the year 1563.

At this time happened the deaths of two of the legates, the Cardinal of Mantua and Seripando. This double stroke interrupted the progress of the attempted pacification, as it was judged proper to wait the arrival of the new legates, who, it was understood, were chosen. These were Cardinals Morone* and Navagero. Sanguine hopes of a favourable result, from this change of circumstances, was entertained. But the difference respecting jurisdiction had struck its roots

* In an important extract from the MS. and unpublished Life of Martin Perez de Ayala, extant in the Royal Library of Madrid, and presented by Villanueva, in the Appendix to his Vida Literaria, Cardinal Morone is characterized as *hombre doblado*, (tom. ii., p. 420,) which, says the Rev. Blanco White, a good judge, signifies literally 'a double man;' but, he adds, 'the Spanish phrase is very strong, and means dark and treacherous.' Pract. and Int. Evid., &c. second edition, p. 326. The character given of him, and acts ascribed to him, even by Paleotto, justify this representation.

so deeply, that, instead of being diminished, it increased daily, particularly by the means of private meetings.

It is really waste of time and labour to pursue any farther a controversy which yet, in our original, occupies many future pages, and of which enough has been related to show that it was a contest between encroaching and tenacious tyranny on one hand, and a resistance on the part of those subject to it, resolute and persevering indeed, but neutralized and enfeebled by a recognition of its animating principle. Suffice it to observe, that the result was, as usual, a newly-formed seventh canon, which anathematizes those who assert that bishops, assumed by the authority of the Roman pontiff, are not instituted by Christ, but are papal masks, or a human figment, &c.*

Paleotto was employed to send an account of what was done to Rome, which he did, adding, by way of explanation of the name of Rector, or Ruler, subjoined to that of Pastor, as applied to the pontiff, that it was adopted as a contradiction of the opinion of the heretics, who refused the title to his holiness. Great hopes were cherished that now a total end was put to the perpetual dissensions which had prevailed, when, hardly had the messenger left Trent, before it was found that neither of the two opponent parties were pleased—the Italians, as thinking that too much power was given to the bishops, and too little to the pope; the Spaniards, as thinking precisely the contrary. It was, therefore, after further consultation among the heads of the council, agreed, that canons should be constructed purely with reference to the sacrament of order, without any thing concerning jurisdiction. And so, a fourth chapter of doctrine, and Canons vi., vii., and viii., were composed in the form in which they were adopted in the session.

On the 6th of July there was a meeting previously to a general congregation, to explore and adjust matters; and although disputation was not wanting, it was conducted more

* —— larvas papales, seu figmentum humanum, &c.

temperately than usual. Some friends of the papal prerogative wished that the pontiff should be recognized as chief hierarch *.

While this attempt to settle disputed matters was being made in a private congregation, news arrived from Rome that the plan was disapproved, even by the Cardinal of Lorraine, which did not much surprise the legates. But every one was surprised that the persons, whom his holiness consulted at Rome, should betray so much ignorance, as they appeared by their annotations to do, concerning the real difficulty of the case, which they altogether neglected, pressing a point which they might know could never be carried, when the question proposed to them was in what way, *that point being omitted*, the rights of their most holy lord could be secured. To that they answered not a word; and the author adds, that he had heard it said by most learned men that the doctrine ought to have been received by their party, and that, by neglecting to do so, they lost an admirable opportunity of corroborating, for perpetuity, the authority of his holiness against the heretics. But what—rather correcting himself—what would it have availed, since the separatists pay no respect to councils or fathers, or the most convincing reasons, much less to the authority of the supreme pontiff?

After this a general congregation was convened for the purpose, if possible, of composing the storm of minds, and fixing a day for the so often prorogued session. Morone opened it with a grave oration suitable to the circumstances. And the historian exults, that it pleased the Divine clemency to excite in the minds of the fathers such a spirit of peace and concord, that, to the great joy of all, they at length almost unanimously agreed in the main points, although there were some exceptions, which are specified.

On the next day the ambassador of the Spanish king pleaded for having the hierarchy said to be instituted *by*

* —— tanquam summo hierarcha.

Christ, the words *divine ordination* appearing too general, with other things tending to revive the old disputes. The Spanish hostility was therefore reckoned upon; and it was thought that, at the session, the Spaniards would either absent themselves or protest. Answers were accordingly prepared.

But behold, proceeds the historian, by the benignity of the Most High God, it came to pass, that shortly after the termination of the congregation, the Spaniards assembled at the ambassador's, and considering the matter more maturely, signified, in the name of the whole nation, to the legates, that they would not dissent at the session, on two conditions: firstly, that at the close of the council, when the heretics are condemned, those should be included who denied bishops to be instituted by Christ, and likewise those who do not admit the primary and supreme authority of the chief pontiff. With the Spaniards the French concurred; and thus, under God, the discords terminated, and the doctrine and canons were received in the form in which they now stand.

Some time before this, the pontiff was meditating to take up his residence with his court at Bologna, in order that he might be nearer the council *. The legates sent him word, that the cardinal of Lorraine and the French were well affected towards the apostolic see; and Lanssac added, that he had no doubt of the good will of his holiness, but that he had bad advisers about him, and that it would be prudent, in obedience to the times, to remit a portion of his right, in order that he might retain the rest entire.

About the same time, while the council was engaged in public religious service, as the author carefully observed, news was received of a victory of the French king over the Huguenots. They immediately repaired to the cathedral and sang a Te Deum †.

* See likewise among the letters of the legates, March 8, 1563.

† This is somewhere referred to by Visconti, but with no new circumstances.

The French ambassadors, who had it in commission from their king to present to the synod a paper on restitution of manners, comprehending thirty-four chapters, delivered them to the legates; and the whole of them appear in Paleotto. They are, of course, generally good, and were much needed.

The legates, although the chapters were felt to contain particulars rather severe and incommodious to the Roman court, thought it right to transmit them to his holiness. A little after came intelligence rather unexpectedly from Rome, of the election of two cardinals, the one eighteen and the other eleven years of age. At a time when so general a clamour was raised against such acts, the legates were distressed that his holiness should manifest so little regard, if not to decorum, to prudence.

In the course of the foregoing proceedings the question of Residence was resumed. Taking up the subject from the beginning, our author inserts a decree proposed relative to it. This, like the other productions of the synod, underwent alterations, which it is not of adequate importance even to describe.

When it came to be debated, Lorraine took the lead. He began by enlarging upon the solemn responsibility of those who assumed the office of pastors in the church of Christ; and while his observations on the proposal were generally laudatory, there were some points upon which he demurred, particularly the specified causes of absence. Granada, as was to be expected, insisted upon the divine right, as the true remedy of the existing evils. One said, with perhaps juster and further application than he intended, that he did not understand *their* doctrine who acknowledged that the Lord commanded bishops to feed the flock, but not *in what manner* they were to be fed. Some objected to the punishments denounced against non-residence, others against the rewards, or that there should be any reward at all, for performing a plain and urgent duty. The bishop of Recanata said, that he had

been a constant resident in his church, not having been absent from it fourteen days; and he wished the fathers would do their best, that they should not be obliged to perform a perpetual residence at Trent; as well as have the speeches shortened, remembering that in the mean time churches were suffering, and that there were *vicarial* offices enough*. The speeches of the abbats and generals close the very extended report, in which nothing which is not obvious, and nothing which is new or important, occurs. The two subjects of order and residence are so nearly identical, that the arguments respecting both are almost repetitions of each other. In fact, the whole controversy on both subjects, which would otherwise almost want a motive and existence, may be resolved into the arrogant pretensions of the Roman pontiff and a feeling of common equity on the part of his subjects. We could approve the zeal and firmness of those who contended in behalf of residence, if the consideration did not force itself upon us, of the effect of the performance of their pastoral duties in true sons of the Roman church, and of the substance and quality of the food which they must impart to their flocks. When we reflect, that *this* may most comprehensively and indulgently be described, as consisting of almost any thing in the way of

* Of one speech some account may be given for the sake of nationality, if for nothing else. It is one of an Irish bishop; but which of the three, who were all made by Pius IV, and came to Trent on the same day, our author does not say. This prelate objected to the clause forbidding prelates to be in the councils of princes; for, said he, but for the contrary, religion would be annihilated in many kingdoms. In queen Mary's time, he adds, there was a contest at the council board between two rival bishops, claimants of the same see, the one a catholic, the other a heretic. The first pleaded that his adversary should be deprived, because he had obtained the see from a schismatic king, Henry VIII; upon which he was judged guilty of treason. Hear me, he replied: if Henry was a catholic, the consequence is necessary, that the queen is a schismatic; or the contrary; choose which you like best. Upon this he was acquitted and obtained the bishopric. He opposed the clause additionally, because the heretics would say, that such bishops as took a share in the councils of princes were chargeable with mortal sin, as the Polish ambassador had affirmed.

doctrine, *exclusive of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity*, and that a jealousy in all cases, and an enmity in very many, against the *unfettered perusal of the sacred scriptures*, is the most conspicuous and disgraceful blot upon the face of Romanism, the image of even a well-meaning, zealous, and laborious prelate or pastor of the church of Rome will be contemplated with a sigh.

The varieties and dissensions among the speakers on this subject embarrassed the legates; and they proposed, with the consent of the fathers, which was readily given, to choose a committee who should assist in bringing a contest, the sound of which had gone forth throughout Christendom, to a desirable termination. When the deputation met to make a new decree, they were warmly opposed by the first speaker of their number, who insisted that the decree on Residence, under Paul III, was sufficient. Lorraine replied, that the present was nearly the same. However, both the proemium and the penalty of mortal sin were generally disapproved, and the congress became a scene of idle altercation. The legates, perceiving that the division of sentiment respecting the divine right rendered the proemium a matter of contention, with the flexible policy so well understood by the Romish church, determined to alter it so as to contradict neither opinion: but, as was done respecting baptism in the council of Vienna, respecting the conception of the Virgin in the Tridentine, and lately, in the same, respecting communion in both kinds, they resolved to steer an ambiguous course, and thus preclude a collision. A new form was constructed on this principle. Lorraine was afraid that the entire omission of the divine right would render this unacceptable; which produced another form. This occasioned fresh dissatisfaction, and the cardinal himself furnished a third. Even this did not answer; and the author conceived it to be a point of honour as dear to him as his life, not to allow any alteration. There was a good deal of negotiation to compose these differences, which ended in a fresh meeting; and the

Jesuit Lainez recommended, that as the question lay only among the catholics, the decree which might be interpreted by both parties in their own way was to be preferred*. Minor portions had been forgotten in the absorbing interest of the main question. But, as usual, when *that* was settled, the former attracted some attention; and it was thought, that the inferior pastors were treated rather severely.

To retrograde with our author to the month of January, the bishop of the five churches put the legates in some alarm by preparing to visit the emperor, who was then at Inspruck; and they were anxious that he should impress upon the mind of his majesty a favourable view of the council. About the same time the council heard from Visconti, who had just returned from Rome†, that his holiness was sedulously employed in reforming his court, and left the affairs of the council to the prudence of the legates. The ambassador of the Duke of Savoy was likewise received, heard, and answered. At the beginning of February there was a public discussion respecting a session, the prorogation of which disappointed the expectations of the world; and it was finally agreed, that it should take place on the 22d of April; the intervening space to be occupied in finishing what was in hand, and even entering upon the abuses of order, and the sacrament of matrimony. Articles on the last subject were communicated to the theologians, whose first employment was, to quarrel about precedence; the Spanish not being disposed to yield to the French. Hence the necessity of new regulations, from which, however, Salmeron, as the pope's theologian, was exempted, as a mark of respect towards his holiness; and he was to be allowed the honour of the opening speech in the congregations. This matter, however, was referred to the next session.

About this time a letter was received by the synod from

* —— decretum se laudare ita dispositum, ut ejus verba pie satis in utramque partem possint exponi.

† This, it appears, from the letters of the legates, was the beginning of February.

the French king; and on its delivery the ambassador, du Ferrier, addressed the fathers, urging that the council should not only make decrees, but provide for their *execution*. And Lorraine followed, pressing the same point, if France was to be delivered from its existing miseries.

On the 2d of March the death of the principal legate, the Cardinal of Mantua, took place, after a very short illness. His age was 56. The historian expresses himself in high terms of the merits and services of this president, and of the regret occasioned by his loss*.

The bishop of the five churches had now returned from the emperor, representing, that his majesty, from disgust at the delays and contentions of the synod, had proposed to meet his holiness personally at Trent, and see what they could do together. Meanwhile the bishop of Viterbo from Rome announced how diligently his holiness was employed in reformations at home, intrusting the conduct of the council entirely to the legates. On this the legates redoubled their exertions; when in the midst of them they were visited with another infliction in the illness, which soon proved fatal, of a second legate, Cardinal Seripando. Before that final event, however, another message of death was confirmed, nearly affecting the council, that of the Duke of Guise, brother to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was assassinated, *it was reported*†, by a private soldier, in order to ingratiate himself with Admiral Coligny, and particularly by the persuasion of Theodore Beza, the heresiarch, who proclaimed, that those who were concerned in the fact would, by this means, acquire celestial glory‡. This is an additional instance

* Mention is made of the death of the chief legate in the Letters of Visconti, March 4, 1563. The physicians were not aware of the fever, and treated the disease wrong.

† —— dicebatur. See likewise Visconti, March 9, who repeats nothing of the report.

‡ Giulio Poggiano delivered an oration on the occasion of the duke's assassination, on the 29th of March, 1563, in the pope's chapel, to a large audience of cardinals, &c. It is in the usual style, and speaks of Beza in the following manner. The assassin, he says, awed by the authority of

of the calumnious trash, invented, received, and propagated, in perfect harmony with the spirit and acts of a system, of which one of the most deplorable effects is, the scarcely resistible necessity under which it places its true subjects of violating truth, in every varying way and degree.

A serious tumult, arising from a quarrel among the servants of the different nations, threatened consequences dangerous to the peace of the city. While the legates and ambassadors were taking measures to restore tranquillity, the disease of Seripando ended fatally. He died on the 17th of March. The event put all into consternation, not only on account of the loss of an individual in such a station, and of singular erudition, prudence, and religion, but because two heads of the council being thus taken off with a stroke, at the distance of only fifteen days, it appeared like a mark of divine displeasure; and many augured ill of the affairs of the council in consequence. The writer, who was a personal friend of the president, and present at a part of the reading of his testament, enlarges on his pious behaviour during the time, particularly in taking the Eucharist on his knees, although in a state of great debility. In the extended discourses which he held, under a perfect consciousness of his impending dissolution, one of his declarations was, that, in the Eucharist, he not only had never doubted, but was never tempted to doubt, that the true body of Christ was contained. He conversed with great fervour of the glory of the future state, and added, that he had lived seventy years to little purpose, if

the duke, repented, and returned the hire of the crime; but, adds the orator, quod gladiatoris natura non tulit, non persuasit pecunia, Bezæ religio probavit: is autem est Beza, homo ignotissimus genere, sed venditione sacerdotii, vitæque turpitudine, nunc etiam, qua bestias vicit, feritate nobilis; qui, condemnatus in Gallia nefariorum facinorum, unum habuit perfugium castra ista præclara: &c. Really, when our people are accused, we examine and justify them if we fairly can: if not, we condemn them, in proportion to the offence; and, if it be nefarious, give them up. But such gratuitous and rhodomontade slander as Poggiano's, and that of Romanists in general, is too contemptible for notice. Poggiani, Epp. iii. pp. 269, et seqq. See the case fairly and ably stated in Smedley's Hist. of Ref. in France, vol. i., pp. 259—269.

he had it then to learn how to die. All this is very possible, and no protestant need be tempted to deny or attenuate either possibility or fact. On the supposition of sufficient and excusable inconsistency, the charity of the professor of a purified christianity is not defective in the judgment formed respecting those who die in external communion with a church, which he justly condemns as in its nature poisoning the true doctrine of salvation by mixing with it that which is false. If her members escape the false, it is, in a very different sense from that in which they are taught to understand the expression, 'so as by fire.'* In his last will, of which an account is given, the legate directs that his burial should be private. Other particulars are of little interest, except that which relates to the disposal of the heretical books, which, by the permission of the chief pontiff, for the use of the council, he had in his possession: these he commands to be all immediately burned†. And so, doubt-

* It is remarkable, that in this account of the last hours of Seripando, no mention or allusion is made to extreme unction—to the image of a crucifix—to invocation of saint, angel, or even the deified Virgin; nor even to confession or absolution. The system of Veron and Bossuet seems to have been present by anticipation to the mind of the auditor; and he, or his subject, had the prudence to pare down popery to something like true christianity, and with purer motives than those of the modern dissemblers. What the cardinal meant by the *true* body of Christ in the Eucharist may likewise admit of doubt. If he had not, some others of his communion have had doubts about the corporal conversion, or the identity of the body on the cross, and the sacramental bread. Let their *Confessions* speak. Visconti mentions the death of this legate, April 14, 1563. Individuals of the Romish communion sometimes attempt to be even with protestants in their charitable opinion of the latter. But they hardly reflect that they do so at the expense of an argument in favour of their religion, which some of them much value. For they say, protestants admit that we may live and die *safely* in our religion, while we stoutly deny that this can be the case with them. In common prudence, therefore, our religion ought to be preferred as the safest. And so it ought, if the opinion of these individuals, with their church and its head at their back, were worth a straw. We do not reject or blame their creed for its uncharitableness—there is no want of charity in truth—but for its sheer and palpable falsehood.

† —— quos apud se, permittente summo pontifice, concilii causa habebat, mandavit omnes statim comburi.

less, went to the flames many of the pious and salutary productions of Luther and Melancthon, and Zuingle and Calvin, and Bucer, full of medicines which would have healed Babylon, if she would have been healed.

The legates, under the present diminution of their number, resolved to suspend all important affairs until the arrival of the new legates. They favoured, likewise, the plan of a meeting of the pope and the emperor at Bologna; and it was supposed that the council might be transferred thither, at all events, that the emperor might there receive the sacred crown from the hands of his holiness—a ceremony which, if once intermitted, might through the prevalence of heresy never be repeated*.

While the legates were employing the fathers in minor affairs, news from Rome arrived, that the new legates were not only fixed upon, but on their journey. They were, as we have said before, the cardinals Giovanni Morone and Bernardo Navagero. The first arrived, and was received with great pomp on the 10th of April; the other, taking Venice in his way, reached Trent a few days after.

Morone was publicly admitted into the synod on the 13th, and addressed the fathers in a grave and suitable speech. Beginning with the motives of his present holiness for convoking the council afresh, he painted in strong colours the turbulence and calamities of the times. The tendency of his address, however, was pacific; and he recommended union even with all the adversaries, as far as was consistent with piety and the dignity of the apostolic see. He then went to the emperor at Inspruck unattended, that he might discourse of the affairs of the council with more openness.

At this time died the celebrated Dominican, Soto, who left in writing some admonition respecting the council.

The session, in consequence of the change in the council, was again prorogued. Morone was prevented returning to Trent by an attack of the gout.

About this time were received letters from the Queen of

* On this subject see Visconti, Lett. March 9. It is likewise in Aymon.

Scots, in which, lamenting the calamities of the times, she apologized for not sending, since she was not able, ambassadors to the council, assuring it, however, of her perpetual devotion to the holy see. There accompanied the letter to the council, one to the pontiff, and another to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The council answered hers to it; and when the former was read, the French cardinal added in a speech much concerning the origin and birth of Mary, and the favourable demonstrations of the two pontiffs, Clement VII and Paul III, towards her, decreeing to her, not only all the dignity belonging to Anglican princes, but the title of defender of the church. He subjoined other things of the state of that kingdom, and of the best will of the queen towards the catholic religion and the holy synod*. When Morone returned from Inspruck, it appeared that both projects of the meeting of the emperor and his holiness, either at Trent or at Bologna, were impracticable; but he learnt on his visit, that many things favourable to reformation and the affairs of the synod had been determined at Rome. Several matters concerning absence and the admission of proxies were then discussed.

The pacification of the French king with the Huguenots occasioned at this time great distress to the council; and it was thought expedient, that a president of the Royal Transalpine senate should explain and justify it †.

Then another affair occurred of some interest, if not importance, to this country. Quickly after, writes Paleotto,

* Tum alia de rerum statu illius regni, optimâque reginæ erga catholicam religionem, ac sanctam synodum voluntate subjunxit. Sarpi ascribes to her letter to the council, the declaration—commemorata la successione sua, ch' aspettava nel Regno d' Inghilterra, promettava che, come fusse seguita, havrebbe sottomesso l' uno e l' altro di quei Regni all' obedienza della sede Apostolica. Lib. vii., near the end. The letter to the council is in Servantio and Le Plat, as well as the answer; but no such sentence appears. But it is not improbable, that so natural a one occurred either in the letter to her uncle, or in his speech, as he was instructed. There is mention of Mary's letter in Visconti, May 4, 1563. It is likewise in Aymon.

† Visconti, June 3, speaks of it as better than it might have been.

there happened another consultation. For the theologians of Louvain were urgent with the legates, that the Queen of England should by the synod be declared both schismatic and heretic: since by letters from the English catholic bishops, many of whom were in prison, instructions had come to that purpose, they thinking that it would greatly advance the interests of that country, because then they hoped that the efforts of catholic princes to expel that pest from those regions would be more sharply stimulated. The affair appeared to require very mature consideration before it should be communicated to his holiness and his imperial majesty, as there was reason to fear, lest after the promulgation of such a declaration the queen might be more furiously intent upon the destruction of the catholics*. We have had something nearly identical with this before; but repetition is history, and in the present instance emphatic. This application of the right reverend rebels and traitors was made, be it well observed, during that period of the first part of the reign of the British queen, which is admitted by Romanists themselves to have been one of comparative clemency towards their own communion. During this very period, they continue their efforts and intrigues to overthrow the religion and government of their country; and it is deemed passing strange, that the sovereign and rulers of that country should

* Theologi Lovanienses a legatis summopere contendebant, ut Regina Angliæ tanquam schismatica et hæretica a synodo declararetur, quod ita per literas ab episcopis Anglis catholicis admoniti essent, quorum etiam multi captivi detinebantur, existimantes ii valde hoc Regni illius rationibus profuturum, cum ita catholicorum principum studia sperarent ad pestem illam ex iis locis propulsandam acrius posse inflammari. Res visa fuit maturo accurate (sic) consilio evolvenda priusquam S^mo. D. N. ac Cæsareæ majestati communicanda, etenim suspicio erat, ne declaratione hac adversus Reginam promulgata, illa acerbius multo usque in necem catholicorum efferata sæviret. His holiness was not entitled to much thanks for his forbearance, according to the representation of Milledoni, whom we have not often found it necessary to refer to. He writes: Havera sua santita dato ordine al concilio, che procedessero contro la Reina d' Inghilterra, ma intendendo, che questo dispiaceria grandamente all' Imperatore revocò tal ordine.

execute any severity, when nothing but severity would avail, in order to preserve it*. It is observable, too, that the repugnance expressed to commit the council in the interference applied for, is grounded on considerations, not of morality, but of prudence. The question is not, how shall we do this great wickedness; but how will it succeed if we do it?

The day of the next session was fixed for the 15th of July, and this was destined to be a real session.

At this point the historian prepares his reader for something great. Nothing, he writes, from the commencement of the council brought the Christian republic into greater danger than the action which he was about to record. He means the contest for dignity of place between the Spanish and French ambassadors, which he details with some prolixity; indeed, he was himself a party. It appears by the statement, that the king of Spain had won the pope's heart away from the king of France, by having cleared his kingdom of heresy, which yet held up its head with authority in that of the latter. The queen mother was suspected to favour it. His holiness, therefore, by letter to the council, determined to give equal honour in the public meetings to the Spanish with the French ambassador. The legates were violently discomposed. They hoped that the Count de Luna would abstain from attendance, when the contest would be brought to some issue; but the count would not. The mass was begun. The Spaniard had a place appointed to him apart. The Cardinal of Lorraine inquired what was to be done in offering the thurible and the pax. The legates to whom he addressed himself muttered something, and referred him to Morone. Pacification was not effected. The count insisted upon the execution of the pontiff's directions. The legates and others retire to the sacristy to settle matters.

* He who would form a just opinion upon this rather important subject, should read Watson's Important Considerations. Stillingfleet and others thought them *important*; and they are as important in the reign of William IV, as they were in that of James II. A papal king with a protestant government, are not more dangerous to true Christianity than a protestant king with a papal government.

When the sermon was begun, Lorraine and the ambassadors showed the legates the directions of their king, that if any thing was innovated in this affair, they should immediately depart, and renounce obedience to Pius IV; and they added other expressions full of bitter complaint. The archbishop of Granada was afraid this scene would get abroad to the great annoyance of his catholic majesty. The count still adhered to his requisition, that the thurible should be presented to him according to the prescript of the most holy one; and said that he had no fear of the Gallic fury and threats*. The legates were about to yield, when a consultation took place between Simonetta and the auditor, who strongly deprecated a proceeding which would bring ruin on his holiness. Great terror of the consequences prevailed among the fathers; and they exerted themselves to avert so great a calamity†. At length it pleased the divine clemency to effect deliverance by means of the expedient of altogether omitting the offering the thurible and pax to the legates themselves in the sacred services, and even on the day of session. And thus in a short time the whole perilous contest was set at rest‡.

Without meaning to question the necessity of order and respect to rank in large meetings of the description here concerned, the representation just given by an unexceptionable pen may serve to prove, that the holy synod has not been greatly calumniated by protestants; and that the secularity and postponement of divine to human things, which they have ascribed to it, has not been their invention.

The abuses of order came next under the consideration of the fathers. The Cardinal of Lorraine suggested four additional points, of inconsiderable importance, under this head. There was a delegation of fathers appointed for the general subject; and they drew up an extended outline of

* —— nihil se furores Gallicos aut minas vereri.

† —— tantam cladem.

‡ See on this affair Visconti, Lett. Jun. ult. Jul. 1, in Poliza. They are in Aymon likewise.

a decree, consisting of fourteen chapters, and a long appendage concerning seminaries and schools. This, of course, had to encounter the criticisms of the general congregations. The whole system of the Roman hierarchy, or ecclesiastical policy, is a congeries of abuses; and it would be as useless as endless to particularize the complicated and multifarious machinery of the papal system in this part of its constitution. The speeches of the fathers, therefore, although minutely and elaborately reported, offer almost nothing of real value or interest. The Cardinal of Lorraine employed the two first days by giving line to his own eloquence, which is applauded. The other fathers followed in due order; and there is no break in the monotonous insipidity, until we come to the bishop of Cava, who, speaking of the seminary, says, that he was obliged to repeat what he had before observed in the council under Paul III, with the knowledge and approbation of many present, that, in the monasteries, they gave the highest degrees to those who read the scholastic doctors, Thomas, Scotus, Gregory, and others; but that those who read the scripture were treated as inferiors: whence, he adds, it is no wonder that there is a deficiency of those who understand the sacred volume, since it is neglected. The order therefore ought to be reversed; the principal study should be that of the scripture; and the scholastic doctors should follow*. There is hardly such another Oasis in the whole desert, although the speech of the bishop of Ostuni is, I presume, from its supposed merit, transcribed at full length; and lengthy enough it is. The abbats and generals brought up the rear, and Lainez figured the last, not least, and full of flattery to the authority of the chief pontiff†.

The opinions of the fathers being brought to a close, since many severe reflections were made in the course of them upon the Roman court, the legates found it expedient to

* Igitur mutetur hic ordo, ut in monasteriis præcipua opera sit circa scripturam sacram, deinde circa scholasticos doctores.

† Cumque hic summi Pontificis auctoritatem vehementius extolleret, &c.

meet them with the utmost dexterity and prudence; for they recollected the speech of the bishop of Verdun, who was taunted with the pun, How the cock crows *! and who was defended in the following words by another Frenchman, 'I wish that at the crowing of this cock Peter would go 'out and weep bitterly.' All, indeed, proceeds the historian, were witnesses of the licence and maledicence of the French, so much so, that it was bitterly remarked, that the synod has fallen from the Spanish to the French disease †. The legates exerted themselves to acquire a better disposition towards the council; and, as usual, employed certain fathers to compound and methodize the varying opinions which had been delivered. After many meetings they drew up a form under the title of Annotations. These were presented to the general congregation, and through the fervid prayers offered for their success, and the infinite clemency of God, (so our author speaks,) they were agreed to with a very few dissentients, in a meeting which lasted for six hours.

At length the 15th of July arrived, and the session was not prorogued, but celebrated. It is observed, however, that in the mass, neither the pax nor the thurible were administered, in order to avoid the controversies respecting superiority of place. The decrees and canons were read, and the 16th of September announced for the ensuing session. To the former there were only eleven who made objections, those principally turning upon the divine right. The latter passed unanimously. Due thanks were returned by the legates for this rather unexpected result.

Neither the decrees nor the canons are particularly deserving of specification or criticism, for reasons which have appeared. Sacrifice and priesthood united are by the order of God; different orders are appointed in the church; grace is conferred by the sacrament; an indelible character

* Quam multa Gallus iste cantat! The pun cannot be preserved in a translation.

† —— ex Hispanica scabie in morbum Gallicum incidisse. This offensive comparison is found noticed in a letter of Visconti, Dec. 6, 1562.

is imprinted. The canons are to the same purpose. The three last are diluted from those which occasioned so much acrimonious dissension. The chapters under the head of abuses, are generally obvious, and not very important, regulations. The conclusion respecting seminaries is perhaps the least unimportant.

The numbers given as present by Servantio are simply—four legates, two cardinals, twenty-nine ambassadors *. Le Plat has exhibited no list at all. But there must have been about the usual number of prelates and others †.

From the paucity of references to the letters of Visconti and the legates, it would hardly be inferred, that they so minutely repeat, and so powerfully corroborate, as they are found to do, the narrative of Paleotto. But it was thought best to let the historian tell his own tale without interruption, with the present general remark in explanation. To have incorporated the two representations of transactions which were in so great a proportion uninteresting would have been an irksome, if not impracticable, attempt; and of no remuneration, if successful, adequate to the labour. There are, however, particulars in the letters, more or less connected with the history over which we have been travelling, of too much interest or curiosity to be altogether omitted: they are therefore exhibited in this separate manner.

In the letter of the Nuncio, dated the 22d of October, 1562, and which is a very long one, besides the agreement, that Hosius should interrupt Granada if he trespassed upon the forbidden ground of divine right, as has been already noted, the writer begins a fresh ciphered part, with observing, that there were many prelates, who in different ways

* This must be a mistake for nineteen; for that is the entire number of the ambassadors given by Le Plat, as attending during the last meeting of the council.

† Visconti, in his account of the session, lett. July 15, says there were 220 votes, 208 of which were prelates, (vescovi.)

spread a report of the suspension of the council, some saying that the abbat of Manna sought it in the name of France, and that the emperor desired in particular that his holiness should do it without mentioning that the princes wished for it. This, it is added, would be a good pretence for finishing the council. His holiness certainly was in trepidation all the while the council was sitting; and these reports had doubtless some foundation.

There is a passage in the letter of the 16th of November, remarkable, as ascertaining the fidelity of quotation in the fathers. It happens sometimes, writes Visconti, that the prelates in congregation, for the purpose of supporting their opinions cite various passages in writings, which afterwards are not found to be faithful, or, if they are, it is seen, that they allege solely that part which makes for their purpose; as it happened in the case of the bishop of Modena, who, when he gave his vote, cited some passages of the councils, which really were not found there*. There is more in the letter to the same purpose.

In a letter of the 10th of December, the nuncio says, the bishop of the five churches told him, that the duke of Saxony and the count Palatine kneeled publicly at mass while the litany was being chanted†. Was this true? was it unworthy compliance or infection? The papal litany is full of idolatrous invocation. But, at all events, it is seen how such things in such circumstances are observed.

On the 26th of December, we come to a series of letters by the legates for about a month. Visconti, for good reasons, had been sent to Rome, and the pen then went into other hands. There are two letters of credence to the pope and his nephew, given by the legates to Visconti; and they subscribe themselves in the former—Humilissime e Devotissime Creature, li Cardinali.—Cardinals, it is true, are

* —— citò alcuni luoghi, de' Concilii, che in effetto non si trouano.

† —— erano stati inginocchiati publicamente alla messa, tanto che si cantarono le litanie.

created by the pontiff; but it is revolting to observe them call themselves his creatures.

In a letter of the 7th of January, 1563, the legates begin with expressing their surprise to receive from the cardinal, to whom their letters are directed, Borromeo, the advice to be more communicative on the affairs of the council with the cardinal of Lorraine; for that it had been reported from Trent, that he complained of the legates as not only shunning all communication with him, but even guarding against him as an enemy. They did not wonder, that there were gossips among them who would say such things, but that such things should be attended to. On the contrary, they say, they had always felt the highest esteem for him, on account of his eminent goodness, religion, and honourable respect towards his holiness and the apostolic see, and that in their letters they had called him an angel of peace, and a man sent of God; and they lament, that he should be the subject of so much calumny. They would not, therefore, fail to continue most cordially their course of confidence with him.

A curious circumstance is mentioned at the close of the letter, of a Genoese gentleman then at Trent, who had been in the inquisition of Genoa, by means of whom it was hoped that many of his associates might be reduced to reconciliation with the church. He seems to have been still under confinement of some sort; for the ordinary of the place, the archbishop, was present, and is spoken of as the judge.

A letter of the 15th of January describes the perilous state of the council at the time, and its demand upon all the dexterity and patience which can be imagined; for the legates had to do with those who felt it impossible to belong to their party, and who were neither simple, ignorant, nor imprudent; then, with those who were, as they ought to be, of their party, but were, each individual, obstinate in their own opinion, and disagreeing with each other, so that they equalled the concord and unity among the first, by the discord and disunion among themselves, while each endea-

voured to exceed the other in demonstrations of devotedness to the apostolic see, and the particular service of his holiness and the court. The mischief and disturbance which this would occasion, they say, may easily be conceived. They had received certain annotations from Rome, and a letter to be shewn* to Lorraine, with which he was little satisfied. With him they had consultations; and a modification of the seventh canon was proposed. At an interview soon after, he appeared very conciliating, but intimated, that the form would not be accepted either by the Spaniards or the French, nor by himself, if the Holy Spirit did not inspire him to the contrary—an expression which they found proceeded from a very ill will. The legates had two objects in view; the one was, to establish the power of the pope on surer foundations than was done even by the Florentine council; the other, that if the French should be provoked to call for a free council, as they had heard with their own ears was intended, a dissolution would follow, of which they could not be charged as being the authors. We see by this, plainly enough, that suspension or dissolution was always in view with the pontificial party as a desirable object: but that party must not have the credit of being the cause.

The next letter, of the 18th, contains a passage profitably descriptive of 'the scandal occasioned to the council from 'the differences discovered in it among catholics, who ought 'to be all united against the heretics, and to lay aside what, 'instead of making against the heretics, makes for them, while 'they detect our imperfections and controversies. But if by 'the secret judgement of God, concord is denied, and the 'session cannot be effected, and a dissolution and rupture 'become necessary, let us have an express declaration of 'the will of his holiness,' &c. The letter about the close has the curious proposition of a daily pigeon carriage,† or post, between Rome and Trent, that the legates by this

* —— mostrabile.

† Bisognarebbe—avere una Columba, che ogni giorno volasse, &c.

means might mitigate the distresses which every day brought with it.

In a letter of the 1st of February, the legates mention the return of Visconti to Trent.

Visconti is the writer after this; and on the same day a letter from him announces his safe arrival the 29th of the preceding month*.

A letter of the 11th of February in my MS., but the 15th in Aymon, exhibits a curious disclosure of unfaithfulness in the secretary of the council, Massarelli, who in reporting the words of the president du Ferrier, *in universali ecclesia plenam Potestatem*, as Visconti and others understood him to say, speaking of the power of the pope, substituted *supremam in Dei Ecclesia Potestatem*. Another secretary, we shall find, was associated with him afterwards.

In a letter of the 1st of March is mentioned the emperor's quotation, upon understanding, that the cup would not be granted, 'Forty years long was I grieved with this genera-'tion, and said, they do always err in their heart,' &c.

On the 8th of March is recorded the wonder of the cardinal of Lorraine, that when the legates send so many couriers to Rome, they make it appear as if they received no answer.

There is a passage of some critical interest and importance in a letter of the 21st of June, where the writer complains, that the works of Cyprian just re-edited by Paulo Manutio were not corrected agreeably to the directions of the correctors, but that, in treating of the authority of the church, where the primacy of the Roman pontiff is spoken of, some words were changed so as to differ from those cited in the decretals, and certain authors. The passage in the new edition is further represented as disagreeing with a MS. copy in the possession of the late pope, Marcellus II. At a time when the authority of the pope is so much discussed, it would be desirable, he adds, that before opinions so inju-

* It is to be observed, that from this date commence the Letters of Visconti, published with a French translation by Aymon.

rious to it got abroad, means should be taken to remove them: which it is thought might be done by giving authority to the passage as it should be, and authenticating it by the testimony and approbation of those who had collated the ancient copies.

This enigmatical passage can refer to nothing in Cyprian but the celebrated passage, celebrated for the shameless interpolation which it has suffered, in the Treatise de Unitate Ecclesiæ. But the enigma is, that in the Aldine edition, as it now stands, the interpolation, to the heart's content of every devotee of pontifical authority, occupies its station in full and unblushing display. It is not, indeed, precisely what appears in behalf of the primacy in Distinct. 93, c. 3; but quite as good. What then is the fact? Was the edition in question first printed after the first honest edition, by Sweynheim and Pannartz, in 1471, at Rome, and all other honest ones; and before any, or many copies had found their way into the world, corrected by cancellation, which could easily be done in a full page where three lines only were to be inserted? or what is the fact*? The passage of Cyprian alluded to, where all the war lies between the friends and the foes of papal primacy, has suffered a strange and dishonourable fate in the last posthumous edition of the works of the saint. Let the reader examine the physical appearance only of the cancelled leaf in the text, and the several cancelled ones in the notes, where pages are converted into columns, or double pages and double signatures, to preserve the continuity of the numbers, or the matter of

* The text as it now stands in Manutius's edition is as follows; the italics being what he has added to the text of the former editions:—Tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, *unam cathedram constituit*, et unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli, quod fuit et Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, *et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi Ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur: et pastores sunt omnes, et grex unus ostenditur, qui et apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur;* ut Ecclesia Christi una monstretur.

the notes themselves, and then ask, and answer if he can, where is the moral honesty of Roman catholic editors*?

At the end of the letter mention is made of the additional secretary chosen by the legates, Adamo Fumario, or Fumani, according to Aymon. The objection made to Massarelli will be recollected.

SESSION XXIV.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Matrimony—*Reformation:* Ecclesiastical Regulations.

ALTHOUGH the letters of Visconti have ceased to be the kind of authority to which we have mainly confined ourselves in the present work, as having been, in the period with which we are now concerned, made common property, by the publication and translation of Aymon, yet as that production is not of ordinary occurrence, and as the letters give peculiar and original information respecting certain facts of some importance; as they likewise vindicate in a striking and unexpected manner the fidelity of the Venetian historian of the council, there is sufficient reason and justification for availing ourselves of the testimony of so well qualified and unexceptionable a witness, in the transactions immediately subsequent to the last session, where the narrative of Paleotto is rather unaccountably defective.

In the first letter of the 19th of July, towards the end the nuncio writes, that he was informed by the first president, that he, and his colleagues, had deputed certain theologians to examine the subject of Indulgences, Invocation of Saints, and Purgatory; and had assigned two for the pontiff, two for each of the three sovereigns—the emperor is remarkably omitted—and two generals of orders, whose business it should be, to consider of the most effectual way

* The subject is adverted to again in letters of July 12, 19, and 22, but with no new light.

of compendiously refuting the opinions of the heretics; in such manner, that their opinions, when agreed upon, should be presented to the general congregation, and that by not making the disputations a separate thing, the fathers might not lose their time in hearing them, and so a more expeditious decision might be procured. The nuncio sent a copy of the canons of Matrimony before they were published, and added, that as the sixth contradicted St. Ambrose, it was thought proper, in order that the saint might not be condemned, to convert the canon with its accompanying anathema into a simple decree. The deputies were directed likewise to consider the two points, whether married persons might be ordained, and whether clandestine marriages should be annulled. The appended Scrittura, or Memoir, mentions the invitation of the cardinal of Lorraine to Rome; and the writers wish, that the visit should not take place until he had given his vote respecting Reform, since the imperial ambassadors and the count de Lara were intent upon prolonging the council, the design of their sovereigns, in the opinion of intelligent men, being hostile to a speedy termination. This conclusion was confirmed by the Spanish ambassador's request to the president, that the advent of the protestants should be invited.

This statement is important, as shewing how the different ruling parties stood affected. The German and Spanish monarchs were for continuing the council: the Pontiff and the French court wished to abbreviate it.

The epistle which we are now using contains a curious illustration of tenacity on points of honour, in the offence taken at the sermon of the bishop of Aliffi, which, it was demanded by the French, should neither be printed nor inserted in the acts, because he had therein named the king of Spain before the king of France. And the Venetians complained, that the duke of Savoy took the precedence of their republic. Orthodox ears were still further scandalized, by his asserting, that the morals of the heretics were

not inferior to those of the catholics; and he likewise intimated a declaration of the continuation of the council. It was reported that the sermon, as delivered, varied from that which was previously presented, as usual, in writing*. Visconti suggested to Morone to defeat the attempt of de Luna to protract the speeches, by *insinuating* to the fathers how they should speak. Respecting the contest of honour, the writer adds, that the Spanish ambassador was blamed by some of his countrymen for not availing himself of the day of St. Peter, to insist upon the administration of the incense and pax, when such an opportunity might not recur; and he was mortified that he did not.

The next letter of the 22d of July, mentions certain honours offered to Lorraine, in order to induce him to concur in accelerating the council, and the resolution of the cardinal to go to Rome. *That* now important personage was ingratiating himself with Morone and the Roman see, by intimating to the president the hostility of a chapter of the decree of Reform, and of the princes, to the authority of the pontiff, which authority he, notwithstanding, was determined to maintain to the utmost, as well as favour the expediting of the council. The Memoir gives a report of some interest. It was, that some theologians had prepared long dissertations on Indulgences. They had better, says the writer, be otherwise employed; and the reason given, as coming from a quarter well informed on the subject, is worthy of remark. 'The matter' of Indulgences, writes the nuncio, 'is so extended, that the discussion may produce 'many difficulties, as well respecting the abuses connected 'with it, the interpretation of bulls, and the terms used of '*a pœna et culpa*, as respecting the manner in which they 'are applied to the dead †.'

* Il detto Monsignore parlando de' Costumi degli Heretici disse, ch'essi non erano inferiori à Cattolici in questa parte, e disse alcune parole per le quali veniva à dichiarare la continuazione, &c. This is according to the MS., which slightly, not at all in sense, differs from Aymon's edition.

† —— che da essa possono nascere molte difficoltà, si sopra gli Abusi di quella, et interpretatione delle Bolle, e delle parole che si usano di

In a letter of the 29th, after noticing the unsatisfactory withdrawing of the censure by the deputies of the Index of Books, on the archbishop of Toledo, (Carranza, who was present at the death of Charles V, and prosecuted by the inquisition,) a fresh statement occurs of the opposition of the sovereigns of Germany and Spain to finishing the council, which, however, if the matters of the Sacraments and Reformation be despatched, may yet be done; particularly with the assistance of Lorraine, to procure, that the king of France may give orders to his clergy in that case to return to their churches. His holiness would then have a honourable pretence for terminating the council, which, adds the writer, was congregated more on account of the state and affairs of France, than any of any other country *.

We now rejoin our regular historic guide. His first fact is, the deputation by the pope of twenty-five prelates to examine the cause of the patriarch of Aquileia, accused by the holy inquisition †.

The legates by letters from Rome were assured that his holiness approved of what they had done at the session relative

Pena e di Colpa, come ancora del modo che si ponno pigliar per li morti. Some slight corrections are likewise made here, the most important that of *del* for *dal*. Aymon exhibits the modern orthography. We might introduce here, in conformity with chronology, a letter from the legates on the subject of indulgences, dated July 26, 1563, published by Lagomarsini in his notes on Poggiano's Epistles: but it will appear more suitably hereafter. A Doyle, with his innocent ignorance, his plausible interpretation, his smooth evasions, his impudent inventions, would have been laughed at by those who knew the whole story of indulgences. The hint was taken of being very concise on this dangerous ground; and we shall probably find a place for defeating this prudent taciturnity.

* This last is an extraordinary assertion. It was customary hitherto to make the state of Germany the cause of assembling the council. Even if the observation refer to the last meeting under the present pope, it is hardly the fact. But the new view was politic.

† See an account of Grimani in Gerdesii Ital. Reform., pp. 91—93. He was accused of Lutheran and Calvinian errors, and a certain epistle was fixed upon as containing them. He was acquitted after twenty-four days' trial, by the influence of the Venetian senate. His chief offence, however, was correction of his clergy. The case is mentioned by Visconti, Aug. 2.

to precedence; and they were admonished to make a demonstration of great intimacy with the cardinal of Lorraine, to whom a breve had been sent full of affectionate expression, and inviting his eminence to Rome. The project of reformation, as it concerned the cardinals, the pontiff referred to the legates, since the deputies, appointed by him for that purpose in Rome, did not undertake the matter with sufficient alacrity *.

The French ambassadors presented a certain petition concerning the declaration of clandestine marriage, and the fathers voted on the sacrament.

As the ambassadors and fathers had often required an important and substantial reformation of manners, the legates drew up forty-two articles on the subject. These were presented in loose and separate sheets, which produced some suspicion, but it was explained to have been done for the greater facility of alteration. The Spanish ambassador, perhaps with some secret design, urged, that in the place of these proposals, certain prelates of each nation should deliver in an account of the particular reforms needed in each. Although most of the other ambassadors were instructed by their sovereigns to unite with him, they objected to this unusual course, and thought addition was better than substitution. The count, although stiff in his own opinion, suffered himself ultimately to be persuaded to withdraw his proposal.

After some days the ambassadors presented various annotations on the articles of reformation. The forty-two articles, chiefly at the request of the Spanish ambassador, were reduced to thirty-six. The six omitted ones were of tithes, reduction of masses, excommunication, that the clergy should not mix in secular matters, the value of resigned benefices. Of the remaining article, in which the removal of impediments, arising from secular persons—a point of importance as concerning secular magistrates and princes, and violently

* —— quoniam deputati in Urbe a Papa non satis rem alacriter amplectantur.

contested afterwards, as we shall see—the Spaniard would say nothing, having no instructions from his court; but the French requested that the subject should be deferred to another session.

On the 11th of August and many following days, the votes of the fathers were given on matrimony.

The articles on reformation underwent much alteration, and to secure greater despatch certain classes were appointed, and everything was proceeding prosperously, when almost all the ambassadors united in signifying their repugnance to the proposal of the last chapter concerning the impediments of seculars. The legates notwithstanding would not yield to withdraw it. The emperor said that it contained many things calculated to disturb the German states, and that being then engaged in the diet of Vienna, he wished for time to deliberate. The legates at length agreed to defer that and another chapter of the right of patronage, which was objected to, for ten or twelve days. The prelates then took up the cause with violence, and declared they would not vote, unless they were gratified. There were those who accused the pontiff and his court of having purposely introduced an article, which it was foreseen the princes must reclaim against; and thus the whole affair of reformation would be disturbed and quashed. Others discovered in this opposition the mind of the secular princes, who were sufficiently zealous of reform in the church, but desired none in themselves. Others blamed the delay granted by the legates as a virtual allowance, that the council was superior to the pope. After a great deal of consultation, and with the consent of Lorraine, the legates agreed, that only twenty of the articles of reformation should be published, and the remainder, with the obnoxious one, at the present or a future session.

In order that the reader may have some notion of the contents of the warmly litigated chapter, without transcribing the whole, which is very extended, either in an

original or a translation, we will satisfy ourselves with the abridgment of Fra Paolo, and, for the benefit of the English reader, in Brent's translation *.

'The synod, besides the things constituted concerning 'ecclesiastical persons, hath thought fit to correct the 'abuses of the seculars, brought in against the immunity of 'the church, hoping that the princes will be content, and 'cause due obedience to be rendered to the clergy. And 'therefore it doth admonish them to cause their magistrates, 'officers, and temporal lords, to yield that obedience to the 'pope and constitutions of the council, which themselves are 'bound to perform. And, for facilitation hereof, it doth 'renew some things decreed by the holy canons and imperial 'laws, in favour of ecclesiastical immunity, which ought to 'be observed upon pain of *anathema;* 1. That ecclesiastical 'persons may not be judged in a secular court, howsoever 'there may be doubt of the title of the clerkship, or them-'selves consent, or have renounced the things obtained, or for 'any cause whatsoever, though under pretence of public 'utility, or service of the king; nor shall be proceeded against 'there in cause of murder, if it be not truly and properly a 'murder, and notoriously known, nor in other cases permitted 'by the law, without the declaration of the law going before. '2. That in causes spiritual, of matrimony, heresy, patronage, 'beneficial, civil, criminal, and mixed, belonging in what 'manner soever to the ecclesiastical court, as well over per-'sons, as over goods, tithes, fourths, and other portions ap-'pertaining to the church, or over beneficial patrimonies, 'ecclesiastical fees, temporal jurisdiction of churches, the 'temporal judges shall not meddle, neither in the *petitory*, 'nor in the *possessory*, taking away all appeal upon pre-'tence of justice denied, or as from an abuse, or because the 'things obtained are renounced: and those who shall have 'recourse to the secular magistrate, in the causes aforesaid, 'shall be excommunicated, and deprived of their rights be-

* Lib. viii., pp. 719-20, ed. 1676.

'longing unto them in these things. And this shall be observed 'also in causes depending in what instance soever. 3. That 'the seculars shall not appoint judges in causes ecclesiastical, 'though they have apostolic authority, or a custom time out 'of mind: and the clerks who shall receive such offices from 'the laics, though by virtue of any privilege whatsoever, 'shall be suspended from their orders, deprived of their 'benefices and offices, and made incapable of them. 4. 'That the secular shall not command the ecclesiastical 'judge not to excommunicate without licence, or to revoke 'or suspend the excommunication denounced, nor forbid 'him to examine, cite, and condemn, or to have sergeants or 'ministers for execution. 5. That neither the emperor, 'kings, nor any prince whatsoever, shall make edicts or con-'stitutions, in what manner soever, concerning ecclesiastical 'causes, or persons, nor meddle with their persons, causes, 'jurisdictions, or tribunals, no not in the *Inquisition*; but 'shall be bound to offer the secular arm to the ecclesiastical 'judges; 6. That the temporal jurisdiction of the eccle-'siastics, though with mere and mixed power, shall not be 'disturbed, nor their subjects drawn to the secular tribunals 'in causes temporal. 7. That no prince or magistrate shall 'promise by *breve* or other writing, or give hope to any to 'have a benefice within their dominion, nor procure it from 'the prelates, or chapters, or regulars, and he who shall 'obtain it by that means, shall be deprived and incapable. '8. That they shall not meddle with the fruits of benefices 'vacant, under the pretence of custody or patronage, or pro-'tection, or of withstanding discords, nor shall place there 'either bailiffs or vicars: and the seculars who shall accept 'such offices and custodies should be excommunicated, and 'the clerks suspended from their orders, and deprived of 'their benefices. 9. That the ecclesiastics shall not be forced 'to pay taxes, gabels, tithes, passages, subsidies, though in 'the name of gift or loan, either in respect of the church 'goods, and of their patrimonial, except in provinces where

'by antient custom the ecclesiastics themselves do assist in 'public parliaments, to impose subsidies both upon the laity 'and the clergy, to make war upon the infidels, or for other 'urgent necessities. 10. That they shall not meddle with 'ecclesiastical goods, moveable or immoveable, vassalages, 'tenths, or other rights, nor in the goods of communities or 'private men, over which the church hath any right: nor 'shall rent out the pasturage or herbage, which groweth in 'the lands and possessions of the church. 11. That the 'letters, sentences, and citations of judges ecclesiastical, 'especially of the court of *Rome*, so soon as they be exhi-'bited, shall be intimated without exception, published and 'executed; neither shall it be necessary to require consent 'or licence, which is called *exequatur* or *placet*, or by any 'other name either for this, or for taking possession of bene-'fices, though upon pretence of withstanding falsehoods and 'violences, except in fortresses in those benefices, in which 'princes are acknowledged by reason of the temporality; and 'in case there should be doubt of falsity, or of some great 'scandal or tumult, the bishop, as the pope's delegate, shall 'constitute what he thinketh needful. 12. That princes and 'magistrates shall not lodge their officers, servants, soldiers, 'horses, or dogs, in the houses or monasteries of the eccle-'siastics, nor take anything from them for their food or 'passage. 13. And if any kingdom, province, or place shall 'pretend not to be bound by any of the things aforesaid, by 'virtue of privileges from the apostolic see which are in actual 'use, the privileges shall be exhibited to the pope within a 'year after the end of the council, which shall be confirmed 'by him, according to the merits of the kingdoms or pro-'vinces; and, in case they be not exhibited before the end 'of the year, they shall be understood to be of no force. 'And, for the epilogue, there was an admonition to all princes 'to have in veneration the things which concern the clergy, 'as peculiar to God, and not to suffer them to be offended 'by others, renewing all the constitutions of popes and holy

'canons, in favour of ecclesiastical immunity, commanding 'under pain of *anathema*, that neither directly nor indirectly, 'under any pretence whatsoever, anything be constituted or 'executed against the persons or goods of the clergy, or 'against their liberty, any privileges or exemptions, though 'immemorial, notwithstanding.'

On the 5th of September a copy of the canons respecting matrimony, lately reformed, was published. They were altered a third time, and discussed in the congregations. On the last day, the 10th of September, when it was signified to the fathers that on the next the articles of reformation would be examined, a considerable number of them began to exclaim that many of the chapters, and particularly that of the impediments from seculars, was withdrawn, and added, that they would not vote, unless the last was restored; they had heard that the council was to be suspended after the next session, and if that were the case, the last chapter would be lost.

The count de Luna had promised the legates that he would do all in his power, that the next session should pass without disturbance, but yet insisted that the clause, *proponentibus legatis*, should be withdrawn *.

The congregations on reformation beginning on the 11th of September, the cardinal Morone made a speech suited to the occasion †. Lorraine followed, observing, that although

* The Diary of Servantio, under the 7th of September, informs us, that a copy of the twenty-one chapters of reform, reformed the fourth time, were presented to the fathers, which, in order that they might be more readily assented to and passed in the general congregation, were distributed by the legates among various private congregations in the houses of the prelates, the French in one, the Spaniards in another, and the Italians in the three, of Otranto, Taranto, and Parma.

† The speech of the cardinal, as it appears in the Diarist, is more satisfactory than as reported by Paleotto. He in substance announced, that the part of the decree of reformation, which related to the impediments arising from secular princes, as the episcopal jurisdiction was disturbed thereby, could not be settled with the other portion. He, however, and his colleagues promised, that within three days they would exhibit them, so that

his life was principally spent in courts, he would speak according to his conscience. On a speech of a Spanish canon, not pleasing to the Spanish ambassador, he ordered him to leave Trent within twenty-four hours. This was resented as trenching upon the liberty of the council. Other congregations followed.

On the 14th of September, another copy of the articles of reformation was given to the fathers, with fourteen added, including the celebrated last, making with twenty-one, as reckoned with Paleotto, thirty-five.

After several meetings at the chief president's house and elsewhere, concerning clandestine marriages, the particulars of which are of minor importance, a congregation met on the 15th of September, which, as usual, was opened by Morone, who lamented, while he asserted, the necessity of deferring the session to a later day. Some fathers spake, and the result was, to appoint St. Martin's Day, with the power of abbreviating it, for the next session.

Many opinions were expressed on the subject. The Spanish ambassador was accused of doing all in his power to protract the council. The emperor was said to have urged that some German heretics should be sent to it, to discuss doctrines with the fathers, and under license of the safe conduct repeat what had been settled, and lead the council into long disputes. He required likewise that indulgences and other points should be examined, although enough had been concluded to refute the opinions of the heretics. Even at Rome the king's ministers insisted that every matter should be thoroughly discussed—all which things tended to the consequence, that there should be no end to the council for many years.

On the 16th of September, votes were taken on the twenty-one articles of reformation; and on the same day a letter

with the rest, they might be decreed in the next session. He added, that the fathers need have no fears respecting the suspension of the council.

came from the emperor on the subject of the controverted chapter, saying, that, although he willingly subjected himself to the decisions of the council, it seemed hard that the secular estate should be sacrificed; that at one blow of the axe so vast a wood should be levelled, and that ecclesiastics should be judges in their own cause. He added two grievances.

On the 18th, the cardinal of Lorraine set off on his visit to Rome for a month, that he might be present at the session. Much good fruit was expected from this visit. Many prelates at this time began to retire from the council, principally the French, from disgust at its prolixity; the legates feeling or dissembling repugnance *.

On the 20th of September, the bishop of Ventimiglia, Visconti, went to Rome to prepare for his embassy to the court of Spain.

The fathers gave their votes on the twenty-one articles of reformation on the 21st of September.

It is at this place that the Venetian historian introduces his discussion of the reasons which induced many of the bishops to favour the chapter of the decree of reformation invading the province of secular princes. They were three—the first, that the curates should depend upon them; the second, the wish to suppress exemptions; the third, deliverance from the circumscription by secular magistrates, of their temporal and absolute power over the people. Some way onward, he has given the substance of the contested chapter containing, according to his enumeration, thirteen articles†. They are extant at length in the Varia Tractata‡, and in the published Instructions et Lettres concernant le Concile de Trente§, from which they are adopted into the collection of Le Plat, who has placed at the bottom of the page another copy of the same document as it is found in the

* — repugnantibus tamen legatis, aut saltem dissimulantibus.

† L. viii., c. 44 and 53. We have thought it best to insert it earlier.

‡ Fol. 230 et seqq. § Pp. 580 et seqq. Ed. 1554.

Diarium Torelli Pholæ de Puggio*. Had the compilers of this inflammatory chapter confined themselves to the argument, that if the secular princes were so hard upon the papacy for its offences in the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage and government, and required suitable reformation, it was but reasonable, that the secular princes, who have a considerable portion of such patronage and government, and were guilty enough in their degree, should acquiesce in, if they did not even voluntarily propose, proportionable reformation on their own part, they would have stood upon ground comparatively solid. But reckoning probably upon the fact, that the spirit which animates the whole body of the system, whether in the secular or ecclesiastic division, is callous to all perceptions of equity, it was felt useless to take a position which they were conscious would only lead to endless recrimination; and therefore they adopted the broad and open course, which has so often succeeded, of arrogant and overbearing assumption.

A congregation was held on the 22nd. The French ambassadors began with complaints, that their kings had depended upon former councils, and on the first and second Tridentine ones without success. They were told, that they were satisfied in this by the decrees which had been passed. They retorted, that they did not want definitions of dogmas, but a serious reformation; and the interference with secular princes would only excite disturbance. The 35th chapter tended to overturn the Gallic liberties and the laws of the kingdom; and more to the same purpose. The speech was the subject of severe animadversion to the hostile party.

The congregations in the mean time kept to their appointed work; and, as they had done before, and as Visconti somewhere says they did now, met twice a day.

The count de Luna again attacked the clause, *proponentibus legatis*, and expected, it appears, that the form should be changed.

* Tom. vi., pp. 225 et seqq.

Letters at this time arrived from various cardinals to many of the fathers, entreating them that they would not, by the proposed reformation, bring the whole Roman court to ruin. This could not but create much dissension; and it is added, that when his holiness became acquainted with the fact, he signified great and public displeasure against those cardinals.

An affair now occurred, which embarrassed the legates and threatened to disturb the whole council. At the opening of the present portion of the council by Pius IV, the words *proponentibus legatis*, which were introduced into the decree prepared for the occasion, were strongly attacked, principally by the Spaniards; and their king himself requested of the pontiff, that the decree might be so reformed as to offer no obstruction to the liberty of the council. The emperor made a similar application. The legate, however, contrived to satisfy them. The subject was still matter of much negotiation; and the Spanish ambassador, taking advantage of it, desired that the legates would provide another; otherwise he and the bishops of his nation would absent themselves from the session. He pressed the legates, indeed, so importunately, that they could not escape without a promise of doing what was desired, unless the king of Spain should signify anything to the contrary. After two months, the king wrote to his ambassador to require a decree to the purpose described; and he sent a form which he wished the legates to publish, containing the declaration, that it should be free both to all prelates and their princes *to propose*. The legates replied, that, as to princes, so far were *they* from any right to propose, that it was only by favour they were permitted to be present in the congregations; and prelates were excluded because the right was peculiar to the presiding legates. After some forms were proposed, de Luna presented one in obedience, as he said, to his king's command. The legates consulted the fathers, who thought it derogatory to the honour of the synod, that what it had settled should be a subject of revision; there

were likewise in the proposed form some clauses which displeased them. The legates in their difficulty referred to certain letters which they had formerly received from the pontiff; and they found, in one of May, that he authorized them to make the declaration, as his own, that the synod should retain full liberty: he therefore left it to the discretion of the council, either to continue or reject the words in question. To this effect they explained matters to the count; and as *he* affirmed that he could not transgress his sovereign's commands, so *they* alleged that they could not transgress his holiness's. They therefore resolved to refer the subject to the free opinion of the council; and suggested, that the king of Spain, although so careful of the liberty of the council, was the first disturber of that liberty in the person, and late act, of his ambassador, who had expelled from the council a canon for speaking his mind. This, of course, did not tend to pacify the ambassador, and he charged the legates with want of good faith, and other offences; but they justified themselves by a reference to the letters of the pope. Not being disposed to acquiesce in a defeat, the count prepared a protest, in which he expected the prelates to join, but was disappointed. He therefore detailed the case to his holiness, trusting that he would both perform his own promise, and more strictly bind his legates to perform theirs; and then all would go on well.

On the same day, the 28th of September, votes were delivered on the twenty-one articles of Reformation, when the bishop of Guadix inveighed with some energy against the officials of the Roman court, enumerating the charges to himself in particular, for issuing bulls* to his church, amounting to 4856 of some unnamed, but, it may be presumed, familiar and intelligible, species of money†. The

* —— expediendis bullis.

† Pallavicino is more angry than Paleotto with this smarting father, whose oration he describes thus:—fece un discorso focosamente invettivo contra gli officiali di Roma. xxiii, 3, 25. Ayala, bishop of Segovia, in the MS. life of himself, published by Villanueva at the end of his own Literary Life, speaks highly of the constancy, amidst general defection, of this man.

bishop of Nocera, in answer, gave the speaker credit for obeying his conscience; but added, that if it was treason to endeavour to withdraw the revenues of temporal princes, it was a much graver offence to invade the most just and necessary revenue of the universal pastor of all churches. When the remainder of the opinions had been taken on the subject of Reformation, which was on the 18th of October, the legates began to think of the approaching session within a fortnight; for the settling of that and of other affairs, deferring the chapter respecting princes to another. Morone, who opened the meeting as usual, referring to the agitating and voluminous chapter in question, the 35th, stated the application of the imperial and other ambassadors, for time to consult their respective sovereigns on the subject. For himself, he would leave the whole decision to the synod; and he concluded with offering several reasons for complying with the request. A variety of opinions was of course delivered on this proposal: they were of no great importance or originality; and the majority agreed with the president, who dismissed the fathers with an exhortation to fervent prayer and fasting, in order to obtain divine direction. He, however, proposed, that certain prelates should be chosen to put the decrees in an amended state.

All the fathers referred the choice to the legates; and on the following day sixteen deputies were fixed upon by the legates for that duty. They were classified in such a manner as to expedite business.

Under the date of the 16th of October, intelligence is reported to have been received from Rome of the benign reception of the cardinal of Lorraine, who was admitted to a place in the office of the holy inquisition by his holiness.

Cardinal Morone, he writes, had conquered everything by his arts, (*con sus artes,*) and gained both cardinal Porena and the *archbishop of Granada*, as well as others who had supported him and his party. None remained with him but the bishops of Gerona, of Vique, and of *Guadix*, though they did not venture to show themselves quite openly. His own courage did not fail: but the news of the pope's illness, made the most of, procured a premature termination of the council. ii., 421. One cannot help mourning over Guerrero.

His holiness is said, on the subject of reformation, to have constantly affirmed, that he wished for an effectual reformation, both in the head and members, and that the times required more severe remedies than had yet been proposed. He was contented that what was necessary should be determined respecting the cardinals. If the council should do nothing in this respect, he would himself exercise some rigour by beginning with his nephews, whom he wished to reside in, and serve, their churches.

On the 25th of October, it was signified to the fathers, that, having been supplied with a copy of the amended decree concerning matrimony, a general congregation would be held the next day to receive their opinions by simple assent or dissent, as the subject had been examined for the third time.

The council at that time was staggered by news from Rome of various promotions, at the instance of the cardinal of Lorraine. All were astonished and grieved that such measures should originate with a man, from whom they had great expectations in the business of reform—measures both so opposite to his own professions, and so repugnant to the decrees which had been passing, and were being prepared, in the council. So that all hopes from him were at an end, and his best friends allowed that he betrayed the infirmity of human nature.

On the 26th of October followed the congregations, and on the next day they were finished, on matrimony reformed for the fourth time; and about fifty-eight fathers persisted in the opinion, that marriages were not to be annulled: others thought differently. On the 29th, the deputies for amending the decrees of reformation finished their task.

The count de Luna did not cease to urge his holiness and the legates to make a decree respecting the clause *proponentibus legatis*. The pontiff, in order to gratify the king of Spain, ordered five forms to be written, and sent them to the legates, that they might deliberate among themselves which were the most suitable; and exhibit *that* which they

preferred to the synod. The count was not satisfied, and professed that, if nothing more was done, he was furnished with a protest, which he had it in command from his sovereign in that case to deliver. This announcement was not acceptable to the legates, and they exerted themselves by negotiation to effect some honourable agreement.

The Spanish and many other prelates complained grievously, that, in correcting the decrees by the deputies, the votes as described by the secretaries were not conformable with those verbally delivered; but that after the congregation many of the fathers, privately and secretly by papers, transmitted votes very different from what they had uttered in the congregation—a thing unlawful in itself, and productive of the suspicion of fraud and subornation. This had happened with respect to three chapters in particular, where the Spaniards thought that the votes which they had heard were more in favour of their opinion than they appeared to be as recorded; and they were indignant, that the words of their associates should not, in consequence of such inaccuracy, appear worthy of faith. That there might be no future ground for this complaint, it was ordered that each father should not only speak his opinion, but deliver it in writing to the secretary at the time; since from the nature of the case secretaries could not always be exact. Many of the discrepancies afterwards discovered might be traced to this cause. Nevertheless, adds the honest historian, it cannot be denied, that even hence was afforded an opportunity of suborning some; and many, being persuaded to alter their first opinion, although with very good faith they may have changed for the better, said one thing and wrote another*.

We may supply with some advantage a deficiency of the historian in this place by a document contained in the

* —— negari tamen non potest, quin hinc ad subornandos aliquos locus præstitus fuerit, multique suasionibus revocati a pristina sententia aliud scripserint aliud dixerint; quamvis et aliqui bona fide meliorem sequentes sententiam idem fecerint.

manuscript volume, entitled Varia Tractata. The papal nuncio to Trent, who was sent back to Rome, was considered by his holiness of so much ability and trustworthiness, as to be employed upon an embassy of some delicacy and difficulty to his most catholic majesty of Spain. The document adverted to is, the *Instructions* which he received when sent upon that important business. The title will explain the main object. Instruttione data a Monsignor Carlo Visconte mandato da Papa Pio 4°. al Re Catt^co. on the affairs of the Council of Trent, and to obtain an interview between his holiness, the most Christian king, and his Catholic majesty, and on other most important businesses. At Rome, the last day of October, M.D.LXIII. Of all the individuals in the council, there were none with whom the legates had so much uniform trouble as with the Spanish, both ambassador and prelates; and it could not be doubted, that, as they represented, they acted with the approbation, if not at the command, of their sovereign. It was therefore highly important to the council and its real rulers, that the views of the Spanish monarch should undergo some alteration in their favour. And this was the object of the embassy of the Bishop of Ventimiglia. He was instructed to impress upon the mind of his catholic majesty, the purity of his holiness's views and acts, and to obtain his concurrence to the progress and prosperous termination of the council. He was to suggest, that as the proceedings of his holiness were applauded by all the other princes, he had the more reason to expect the assistance of *that* prince, who had shown such an affection for the catholic religion, and whose dominions were less infected with heresies than any other in Christendom. His holiness's dependence was upon the sovereigns, and particularly upon him, not less zealous of the universal good than of his own catholic name. France in particular excited his commiseration; and he was anxious, that, himself forming one, there should be a personal conference of the three principal parties; and, in indulgence to his own age and infirmities, he proposed that Nice in the south of France

should be the place of meeting. This is the main object of the embassy; but there are collateral points of some importance occurring in the Instructions. Among these is the information, that the cardinal of Lorraine had a long conversation with his holiness respecting a proposed marriage between the queen of Scots and the archduke Charles, which would conduce to the public good, as there could be no hope of restoring the catholic religion in Scotland but by such means. And it would be another result of so honourable a match to assist those in England of the Roman communion, who would, without such assistance, be destitute of all hope of ever seeing the catholic religion restored in their kingdom. Passing over the reference to the pest existing at Inspruck, we are edified by a qualm of conscience in his holiness respecting the indulgences of the Cruzada, which are forced even upon the unwilling*; but which yet his majesty wished to have renewed. It is intimated, that his holiness would comply. The same was to be said with respect to the indulgences for the building of St. Peter's, which, since his holiness, out of respect to his majesty, has not revoked in Spain, although he has revoked them in Italy and all other places, ought to be used with all suitable equity and circumspection; more particularly, that occasion might not be given to exclaim against the fact in the council, where the fathers would often have shown their feeling upon the subject, had they not been diverted from so doing by one who was well disposed to his majesty's interest†. The nuncio is likewise directed to condole with his majesty on the conduct of the prince of Orange, who, in the midst of even the papal territory of Avignon, was not only not ashamed to allow the public preaching of the Huguenots, but had deputed as a governor Mons. St. Urban, the most pestilent heretic and declared enemy of his holiness in the whole country.

* —— etiam ab invitis.

† —— tanto piu per non dare, che dire, e gridare in concilio, dove i Padri ne haverebbono piu volte fatto risentimento, se non fussero divertiti da chi porta affettione alle cose di sua Maestà.

His holiness has admonished and threatened this prince, that, if he do not amend, he will deprive him of his state, as a heretic and favourer of heretics, and will give it to the first occupant. The nuncio was likewise to acquaint his majesty, that his holiness had given six months' notice, now elapsed, to the queen of Navarre, that he would proceed against her *ad privationem* according to law, and that his holiness, for the love of God, of himself, and of the whole Catholic religion, could defer the sentence no longer; and that now, deprived as she was of her dominions, they would become the property of the first occupant. We have not, says Borromeo, speaking in his uncle's name, been willing to speak, or to allow to be spoken of in the council, the case of the queen of England, although she merits judgment no less than *that* other, and this out of respect to his majesty; but it will be necessary one day to take some course with her, and his majesty ought at least to do his best, that the bishops and other Catholics may not be molested by her, but, on the contrary, allowed to live free with their holy religion in the kingdom, or at least be freely permitted to leave the country *.

On the 2d of November, the congregations recommenced their labours on the decrees of reformation, when Morone began by saying, that he had hoped to anticipate the day of session, but that the many difficulties which occurred prevented. Now the time pressed upon them, and it would be a disgrace not to celebrate the session at the appointed day. He therefore exhorted all to speak their minds freely, and in the fear of God; and then, although they might not satisfy

* Foll. 301—17. This paper is signed Ultimo d'Ottobre. Card^lis. Boromeus. What Protestant and Briton does not feel his indignation rise at this insolent assumption in a foreign bishop, which ripened under his successor into a more substantial and atrocious demonstration? And who, in the view of the armed conspiracy of sovereigns, temporal and spiritual, against his religion, his country, and the virgin queen, does not feel himself bound to justify even those measures of necessary self-defence, which may occasionally have transgressed the strict bounds of natural justice? Let the traitors who made the necessity justify themselves.

every body, all would be well. Next followed the archbishop of Braga, who, having lately returned from Rome, pronounced a panegyric upon the zeal of the pontiff for reformation.

On the 4th of November, votes were given on the twenty chapters of reformation proposed for the second time.

On the 5th, the cardinal of Lorraine returned from Rome, and *he* likewise was full of encomium, upon the great ardour of his holiness for reformation, and the removal of abuses, so that he complained of the provisions of the council as milder than the times required.

On the 7th of November, at a congregation, he pursued the subject in a formal speech, enlarging on the virtues and exertions, first of the pontiff, and then of the legates, concluding that nothing remained but that the fathers should do their part. He added some information respecting what he had observed in his interview with that elevated personage, and, in proof of his most holy mind, said, that he was ready to go to Spain or France, or more remote places, for the safety and advancement of the church *. He related many other things in extreme commendation of his holiness, adding, that if he appeared such to the most reverend prelate of Braga, who was so inflamed with divine zeal, how ought he to appear to so tepid a man as himself? He then proceeded to speak of the articles.

On the 10th of November, the day preceding the session, a congregation assembled, in which was first read the decree of matrimony. That part which relates to clandestine marriages was disapproved by forty-seven of the fathers, one hundred and twenty-six approved the whole. After this Morone said, that although the placing the clause, *Salva Sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate*, at the *beginning* of the articles of reformation was approved by the majority, he would not omit to say, that many jndicious persons thought it should be reserved for the *close*. Of the fathers, when their votes

* If the reader wish to know what this means, it was—to incite the princes to persecute the Protestants with all their might.

were called for, ninety-nine appeared for deferring the clause; the opposite party were fewer. So, it was recorded by the notaries in the Acts, and the question was not further moved. Then were read the decrees of reformation, in which both the Spanish and the French were accommodated by concessions respectively desired by them. Afterwards Cardinal Morone explained why the decree, in which the words *proponentibus legatis* occurred was now proposed, and desiring a simple *placet* or *non placet*, the former was answered universally. It was then determined, that the session after the next should be on the Thursday after the conception of the blessed Virgin*. At the close of the congregation, considerable disturbance arose from the circumstance that many of the Neapolitan bishops complained of oppression by the archbishops, and especially their vicars. The principal grievance was, their being obliged, under pain of excommunication, to attend the metropolis to which their bishopric belonged, every year, which answered no other purpose than ostentation, and a recognition of their subjection. They likewise claimed relief from the archiepiscopal jurisdiction in other respects. The legates tried every method of composing the difference, lest the affair should get abroad; and lest it should become the common talk, that the archbishops and bishops were contending about their private interests. The archbishops pleaded immemorial custom, and contended that the gradual subordination of ecclesiastical ranks in the hierarchy, from the simple bishop to the supreme pontiff, was an important argument in support of their claim. The plaintiffs called for the vote, supposing that they should prevail by their superior number. The legates, with the assistance of their friends, strove in vain to settle the dispute; and even the archbishop of Zara espoused the cause of the inferior prelates. When, however, the question came to the vote, contrary to all expectation, the bishops were found in the mi-

* December 9, in this year.

nority, which was discovered to arise from the haste with which the votes were registered. In consequence of this defeat, the Neapolitans moved every stone to have a decree passed in their favour at the session.

On the 11th of November the session was held, and there were in it these singular circumstances; firstly, that it lasted for a whole day and part of a night; secondly, that all the legates and cardinals, who were present, disagreed among themselves on the subject of clandestine marriages; thirdly, that there were changes in the three articles. The fourth circumstance was, that many bishops followed the opinion of the archbishop of Zara, when they scarcely knew what he required; nay, in the very time of divine worship, many bishops were seen soliciting others, and transmitting private papers, to the indignation and offence of the better principled,—a thing which had never been done before. A fifth circumstance was, that when Morone declared the votes aloud, as was the custom, he signified his own, with another legate's dissent respecting clandestine marriages, which, it was supposed, would have the effect of precluding any sanction on the subject by the session. The last peculiar circumstance was, that when, by general admission, both addition and subduction, at the time of the session, were impracticable, more of the fathers were in favour of altering than of those who assented to the proposed decrees. There were some who thought, without foundation, that decrees, which were passed without previous consultation, were without obligation. Referring to the remarkable conduct of the archbishop just mentioned, the author abstains from assenting to the report, that he only wished to be relieved from subjection to his patriarch, and that therefore his conduct was interested. And thus, he concludes, terminated the session, to the praise of the Omnipotent God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary.

We have no account either in Paleotto or Servantio of the circumstances of the session; not even of the preacher; and

neither they nor Le Plat give a list or enumeration of the persons present.

The defect of these writers is in some degree supplied by a letter in the Varia Tractata*, from Gherio, bishop of Ischia, to Don Giovan Manriquez, Nov. 14, 1563, concerning the session of the 11th of November. The writer is well pleased at the quiet and harmonious passing of the session, so much beyond expectation, although he dwells a little on the prolixity and fatigue attending it. The session, he says, was remarkable for the number and importance of the things established in it, and which, preceded as it was by so much controversy, could hardly have been anticipated to conclude so completely to the satisfaction of all parties. Many good reforms were resolved upon, which, chiefly referring to his holiness, plainly discovered the zeal and sincerity both of himself and of his legates in the general measure. Adverting to the future session, the writer proceeds to observe, that France in particular stood much in need of an authentic determination on the subject of Images, Purgatory, and Indulgences; but that it was desirable to avoid disputation, and consequent loss of time, on such subjects. It was therefore thought most expedient that certain decrees, under the head of reform of abuses, should be prepared. Disputations and subtleties, he adds, are resorted to more for ostentation of ability than for edification, since it is settled that there is a purgatory, and that the church has power to grant indulgences†; and these foundations, which are by no means to be called in question, being laid, nothing remains but to remove abuses without entering into discussion. The cardinal of Lorraine, he observes, was quite in this way of thinking; and matters were put in such a train, that if even the legates were disposed to promote disputation, it could not be

* Foll. 258—266.

† This exceedingly reminds one of the logic of the town-clerk of Ephesus, "what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter? Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against," &c. Acts xix, 35, 36.

done without strong expressions of repugnance. The count de Luna, although he was in the habit of representing it as his sovereign's desire that discussion of the theologians should precede the establishment of decrees, was yet now contented with the remedy of abuses. Controversy could only prolong the council without credit or benefit; and the Huguenots would take advantage of such prolongation to call for national synods, which could not be done when the present council was closed, and had concluded everything. Addressing the nationality of the person to whom he was writing, he says that nothing more was wanting to complete the satisfaction and joy of the council, than that the king of Spain should cordially unite his endeavours with those of all the other princes in bringing the council to a speedy and prosperous termination; and his holiness would feel more indebted to him than to all the other crowned heads.

We have yet some short notice to take of the letters of Visconti. It would have been easy to crowd the foot of our pages with reference to collateral passages from this production; and the margin of Courayer's translation of the Venetian historian is decisive, and subsequently appearing, evidence, how well the assailed integrity of that writer is supported. But these letters are extant in print, for the period, with which this portion of our memoirs is concerned. We will therefore content ourselves with a concise reference to the rumour and alarm of the establishment of an inquisition, of the Spanish character, in Milan, and the abandonment of the brutal attempt, as referred to rather largely in letters dated the 2nd and 19th of August; to an entreaty from Germany that the Recesses* of the diets should not be included in the projected new Index of Prohibited Books, August 16; and to jarring opinions on the subject of indulgences, August 16.

The decrees and canons of the council are to be found in

* This is the most important result, or rather part, of a German diet. At the close of the diet, the resolutions are collected and reduced to writing and the act which contains them is called the Recess.

their proper place, which is far from being inaccessible; and although we have given something of an outline of the enactments of some of the preceding sessions, such is the expansive bulk of the present, coupled with their comparative non-importance, without adding that the substance of them has been forestalled, that we feel excused from entering into a review of them any further than to say, that the good fathers seem to have determined to compensate for the abbreviation and rapidity of their preparations by the quantity which those preparations ultimately produced; and that the most remarkable article in the mass of doctrinal and disciplinarian regulations on subjects in which they have done little more than shift the absurdity and corruption from one place to another, and effectually corrected none, is *that* in which the hotly-disputed clause, *proponentibus legatis*, is *explained*.

The day for the next session was appointed to be the 9th of December: but it was abbreviated.

SESSION XXV.

PREPARATIONS—SESSION.

Doctrine: Purgatory, Indulgences, Invocation Veneration and Relics of Saints, Sacred Images, &c., Regulars, and Nuns.—*Reformation:* Cardinals, Excommunication, Episcopal Sees, &c., Duelling, &c.—Index of Books, Catechism, Revisal of Breviary and Missal committed to the Pope.

EVERYTHING was now tending with precipitate and almost indecorous speed to the termination of the council; and its conductors, from the pontiff and his legates to the generals of orders, seemed to be impatient of the hazards of any session. *That*, however, it was necessary, at least for one time more, to encounter, and the usual preparations were put in train.

Two days after the last session, twenty-five prelates of different nations, with Lorraine and Madruccio, were assembled by the legates, and addressed by the chief president upon the readiest way of terminating the council, since the

main business had been despatched, the sacraments and reformation; and his holiness was desirous of *that* consummation, because, while the council was in existence, many accidents might occur which would create great disturbance. The French cardinal urged a speedy close of the council, from the necessities of France, for the sake of which country eminently the council was convoked *; and because it had been determined in a meeting of the king and the states, that if the council did not terminate, a national council should be called, the evils of which might easily be anticipated. The rest agreed in this view of the case, and seemed moved to it by the contemplated possibility of the death, either of the pope or the emperor, and the dangers which would follow. The manner of attaining their object, upon which they concluded, was, to propose what was unfinished on the subject of reformation and the regulars: the doctrines remaining of purgatory, images, and indulgences, since they were sufficiently plain, and had been determined by former councils, might be expedited without disputations, which were productive of excessive delay; and it would be enough to condemn some abuses upon the subjects. Classes and a deputation were accordingly provided to facilitate despatch.

A congregation was held on the 15th of November, when an additional copy of the fourteen articles upon reformation was distributed, and Morone opened the meeting by observing, that all which was necessary had been done, and even what pertained to doctrine; but that the heretics, for whose cause the council was principally convened, became more obstinate every day, nor did any hope of their amendment remain. If more was not effected, it should be remembered, that those who pursued perfection often lost what was good. Some matters of reform still remained, among which was the chapter of secular princes, reduced to a shorter form. This the legate felt himself pledged to bring forward, and therefore could not directly set aside; he therefore

* This was now the current language.

insinuated its pretermission by the observation, that the condition and state of the times required that many things should be left to the piety and religion of princes, whom, adds the president, we desire, in an especial manner, to be the defenders and executors of our decrees; and when the fruit of the council was mature, it was the time for collecting it, lest by delay it should become corrupt. His holiness, who had convoked the synod for the good of the Christian republic, now, from the urgency of public affairs, wished for its close. The same was desired by most of the ambassadors; he therefore requested of the fathers to give their opinions with the utmost brevity, and to abstain from display and elongation. Lorraine supported him, and only desired two things; a public confirmation of the proceedings of the council by his holiness, and that the French bishops should return to their country, armed with dispensations and absolutions, for the purpose of conveying consolation and joy to their flocks *. The rest of the fathers performed their duty with unusual brevity, so much so as to draw upon themselves the charge of precipitation. Many were surprised that the emperor, who had always before favoured delay, was now so urgent for despatch, that it was suspected his conduct was the consequence of a stipulation with his holiness for the use of the cup in his own dominions.

The votes of the fathers were finished on the fourteen chapters of reformation, on the 18th of November. The celebrated one respecting secular princes was the last. On this even the imperial ambassadors remonstrated with their sovereign, that if it were enforced, it would produce great disturbances in the empire. The Venetian said the same. They all apply to his holiness, that *that* chapter should not only be omitted, but rescinded. His holiness, wishing for

* Secundum est, ut concedatur omnibus episcopis, cum ad ecclesias suas redierint, ut possint usque ad certum diem dispensare in impedimentis matrimonii, et absolvere in foro pœnitentiæ in omnibus casibus, ut ita etiam ipsi consolationem et lætitiam animabus illis commissis possint afferre. What a picture of a courtier and a cardinal!

nothing so much as the end of the council, readily assented, and sent letters to that purpose to the council, particularly repressing the zeal of those who were its chief advocates. The chapter was accordingly reduced to an unmeaning form, as it now stands *.

A copy of the reformation respecting regulars and nuns, with six other chapters of general reformation, was supplied to the fathers.

The votes on these subjects began on the 23d of November, and finished in four days.

On the 27th of November, the count de Luna, who had hitherto been quiet, opened his opposition to the plan of expedition, alleging, that the subjects yet remaining to be settled required from their importance deliberate and patient investigation. He added, that so much precipitation appeared unworthy of such an assembly as the present, and that he wished to understand the mind of his sovereign on the subject. He therefore begged that the next session might be deferred to at least two days after Christmas. He could not obtain the assent of the legates and others, who wondered he should have delayed so grave a proposal so long.

On the 28th of November, a number of the ambassadors and fathers met the legates at the house of Morone, who laid before them the state of the council. Lorraine represented that he was called to France by important affairs, and the bishops of that nation must speedily follow; if therefore their presence in the council were of any value, the session should not be deferred; and he thought the best course for the subjects, of doctrine in particular, was to determine them by short decrees, which would afford no pretence for controversy. The ambassadors of Germany did not object to the day of session, but desired that Indulgences, which were the chief cause of the defection of Luther, should be considered; they, however, preferred that the subject should be

* Quare fuit id caput in generalem quandam formulam, et fere inanem verborum sonum redactum, prout hodie se habet, ac ab omnibus fere probatum.

omitted altogether, than that the session should be deferred. The remainder of the congregation answered, that the council should terminate, and that decrees should be drawn up upon Purgatory, and Images with the veneration of saints.

Under the 29th of November the historian relates, that the count de Luna assembled all the Spanish prelates at his house, and imposed upon them an oath of strict secresy, which produced extreme displeasure, and a suspicion that the object of the meeting was to throw impediments in the way of the termination of the council, because it would, as proposed, be done without the privity and authority of their king.

On the next day the count assembled the Italians subject to Philip, particularly the Neapolitan, to the number of about forty, and to them he explained his reasons against the closing of the council. They answered, that, as the French were leaving, the opportunity of such an occurrence should not be lost, and that fatal consequences might be apprehended from not so doing. He thought the terrors vain. The meeting continued to a late hour of the night.

News at this time arrived from Rome, that his holiness was dangerously ill. It was confirmed by additional letters to the legates. The disease was catarrh attended with fever, and prostration of strength. Every one was greatly dejected by this intelligence, particularly Morone, who anticipated the consequences of the decease of the pontiff. The count de Luna alone seemed to be exempt from such feelings and alarm, and, rather inopportunely, chose that season for pressing the dismissal of the celebrated clause, *proponentibus legatis**. The legates in this emergency, on the 1st of December, called together the fathers, to consult whether it might not be advisable to put an immediate end

* This fact is mentioned by Servantio, who is far more rhetorical and pathetic on the subject of this alarm than Paleotto; and he treats the whole case as an illustrious instance of divine and miraculous interposition.

to the council without waiting for further news from the city, which they anticipated must be fatal. They dreaded the death of the pontiff, pending the council, which would create all the disputes respecting the right of the council to elect a successor—disputes which would agitate all the politics of Rome and of all Europe. All the ambassadors agreed upon the necessity of holding the session as early as possible, and even the old opponent of the measure, although rather grudgingly, yet assented.

On the 2d of December, the legates assembled the ambassadors and more than fifty prelates of the different nations, and advised with them what was best to be done; who all, with the exception of a few Spaniards and three Italians, agreed, that the council should finish with the proposal of such matters as were in a state of preparation. On the same day a general congregation was convened, to consider of the decrees of purgatory, and of images. Of indulgences, since they were a subject of considerable difficulty, and involving questions, it was thought best to have no examination; although some fathers continued to desire, that some slight notice should be taken of them, lest they should appear to be altogether passed over in silence*.

On the evening of the same day a congregation again met; the decrees which were in readiness were read. These the president commended as the result of great labour and ability; and regretted, that the necessity in which the council was, prohibited so deliberate a consideration of them as had been customary. He then requested the opinions of the fathers in as few words as possible. All assented, except a few Spaniards, who answered, that the subject demanded more examination, and some others, who objected to the decree of purgatory, as unworthy of the council; and some expressions were altered. The other decrees were then read;

* De Indulgentiis autem, cum materia nimis difficilis, et quæstionibus implicata videretur, interim supersedendum putant; quamvis adhuc Patres multi desiderarunt, ut de ea obiter aliquid attingeretur, ne prorsus omissa silentio videretur.

and the cardinal of Lorraine made a speech on some of the ecclesiastical reformations of no great importance. The other fathers answered in few words, as in their notes. When the opinions were concluded, Morone announced, that, if there were no objection, the session should take place on the next day, and it was possible it might extend to the next; for much time would be occupied in reading the decrees under Paul III, and Julius III. He repeated, that, in his opinion, the termination of the council was necessary in consideration of possible events, which might render all the labours of the council null. Then the French were obliged to return to their country; and in the parliament there it had been resolved, that if the council in this place were not finished, a national one would be assembled. The fathers should likewise consider the evils, which would follow the death of the pontiff, for whose recovery it was their duty earnestly to pray; on the session of the morrow, therefore, if they were so pleased, deliberation should be had concerning the termination of the council. All, except fourteen, assented; and more decrees were read. In the midst of the business, which with unexpected unanimity was protracted to a late hour, letters arrived from the city bringing the joyful news of the incipient recovery of his holiness: all were rejoiced at it, and took courage to proceed in their work.

On the 3d of December, at an early hour, the twenty-fifth and concluding session of the council commenced, and the decrees were published with almost universal consent. The legates, although determined upon closing the council, yet finding it impossible to get through all the business which they had before them, published from the pulpit, that the session would be continued and finished on the next day. After divine service, the legates employed themselves at home in preparing for the transactions of the morrow, and every thing was completed. Among the preparations was the decree of indulgences, to any definition of which Morone was averse, partly because he doubted whether it would not give an occasion of disputation and of protracting matters,

and partly thinking it better that so important a subject, presenting so many points of controversy, should be entirely omitted than that it should be slightly treated. The cardinal of Lorraine, however, with many other prelates, was anxious that some mention should be made of indulgences, lest the error of the heretics should be more confirmed, if they should see that nothing was done about them; and likewise, because this very omission alone might easily be made a pretence for convoking a fresh council. Therefore, on that very night a decree concerning indulgences was composed, and early the next morning before the church was opened, the ambassadors and very many of the prelates were called together, and before them were read all the decrees which were to be promulgated in the session, together with this of indulgences, respecting which, openly and before all, cardinal Morone professed that he was not satisfied that any thing should be defined. Lorraine, however, Madruccio, all the ambassadors, and other prelates, replied and expressed their approbation of the form then delivered. There were, however, withdrawn from it some words, which expressly prohibited the paying of any certain sum of money for indulgences, not even when what are called suspensions are given; and these words were withdrawn in favour of the count de Luna, because they appeared to be industriously selected to designate the Spanish cruzada*.

On the 4th of December the session was concluded, and at the same time an end was put to the council. There were promulgated on it the following decrees—of Indulgences, of choice of food, of an Index of books, and of a Catechism. We may add, from Servantio, and, indeed, from the decrees themselves, the reformation of the Breviary

* The whole of this curious passage I have translated as closely and literally as I was able. The latter part of the original I will transcribe for several reasons: in eo tunc detracta quædam verba, quæ prohibebant expresse ne pro exequendis indulgentiis certæ taxarentur summæ, ne cum darentur illæ quas suspensiones vocant; fuerintque hæc verba sublata, in gratiam Comitis de Luna agentis, quod videbantur hæc de industria ita expressa ad notandum Cruciatam Hispanam.

and Missal. Afterwards were read all the decrees relative to faith published under Paul III and Julius III. Assent was then given by the fathers to the question whether they were pleased that the council should close, and the confirmation of it by his holiness be requested*; and the chief president dismissed them in peace. The cardinal of Lorraine, justly enough denominated the French pope, led the concluding acclamations, which ended with three anathemas, which were probably multiplied into three times three, loud and deep†.

* There were three dissentients: tribus duntaxat exceptis, as it is recorded in the three editions of the Canons and Decrees of Antwerp, Cologne, and Louvain, in 1564. But the reader is not to suppose that this dissent arose from any zeal for the independence and authority of the council. Quite the contrary: it was, that the pontiff might not by this confirmation more strictly bind himself, as some of the enactments of the council did not perfectly please him. This is the representation of Sarpi, viii, 83, who names the cardinals of St. Clement and Alessandrino (afterwards Pius V,) as the dissentients. Servantio records only one: but as his testimony is of value, we will produce it. Parole del primo legato, per le quali dà fine al concilio con la santa benedittione, et dice ite in pace. Placuit omnibus finem huic sacro concilio imponi, confirmationemque a S^mo. Domino nostro peti, uno duntaxat excepto, qui eam confirmationem se non petere dixit. Ideoque nos, apostolicæ sedis legati, et præsidentes eidem sacro concilio finem imponimus, confirmationem quamprimum a S^mo. D. N^no. petemus. Vos autem Patres Ill^mi. et R^mi. post gratias Deo actas, ite in pace. Allequali parole tutti con una voce et con una allegrezza risposero. Amen. Pallavicino affirms this one to be the archbishop of Granada, and that the three in the Antwerp and other editions arose from a mistake of individuals of his own nation opposing the archbishop. xxiv, 8, 8. At any rate, the statement in the accredited edition, and all that followed it, of the Canons and Decrees, is convicted of falsehood by the recorded words of the president himself.

† In the maledictory code of Rome, there are three degrees of comparison—the Minor Excommunication, the Major Excommunication, and Anathema. Notandum quod triplex est excommunicatio, videlicet, minor, major, et anathema. Pontificale Romanum, part. iii, tit. xvii, Ordo excommunicandi, &c. Catalani, the annotator upon the Pontificale, says that the last degree only differs from the immediately preceding one in the greater solemnity of its form; and he admits that some of those forms are very horrible, (valde horrifici.) He refers to some instances, particularly the custom in some churches on that occasion of dragging the cross along the ground; and this he reprobates. The principal ceremonies are, casting to the ground, or quenching in water, lighted torches, and pronouncing a

'Here,' says the auditor, at the close of his interesting and valuable Acts, 'I cannot adequately describe with what 'heartfelt joy every one was elated, and sincerely, as well as 'gratefully, acknowledged God as the author of so many 'benefits. I myself, in the very midst of the session, have 'seen many venerable prelates shedding tears of joy; and 'individuals, who before appeared distant, mutually congra-'tulating one another on the occasion. But when the accla-'mations took place, which to that hour were novel and un-'expected to many, the admiration; applause, and joy which 'they excited, were immense and universal: not a person 'was there who did not, in his countenance, his words, and 'his whole frame, express the highest exultation, praising 'God, to whom be honour, strength, and glory for ever and 'ever!'*

string of curses, including, or derived from the 109th psalm, (as we reckon,) with other passages of scripture; and the practice is justified on this ground. But *what* are the objects of the divine malediction, and *what* those of Rome! I have a form of Anathema used by the inquisitors of Valladolid, so late as the year 1772, attested by the regular official and autograph signatures. It is perfectly Satanic, and is used even with respect to those who fail to denounce the specified crimes of others. There is a form exceeding this in atrocity recorded in Historia Ecc. Evan. in Hungaria, Halberstadt, 1830, pp. 302—304, and copied with accompanying remarks in the Protestant Journal for 1831, pp. 536—539. The date of the sentence is 1632. There is one verse in the very psalm so iniquitously abused, which, as it might be the prayer, may be the hope and comfort of those against whom the curse causeless is uttered, "Though they curse, yet bless Thou."

* Ubi vero ad acclamationes ventum est—tunc ingens omnium admiratio, plausus, lætitiaque exorta est: nemo erat, qui non vultu, verbis, totoque corpore, summam hilaritatem significaret, Deum laudantes, &c. Servantio is not less warm. After describing himself as transported into Paradise by the scene, the fathers, he writes, si partirono facendo una grande allegrezza baciandosi, et abbracciandosi stretti, et molti molte lagrime gettando per gran letitia, dicendo di continuo, sia il nome del Signore Dio benedetto, che ha pur finalmente dato lieto fine a questo sacrosanto concilio, &c. The joy of his holiness was more tempered, according to Adriani. Rimasene il Papa lieto, ma con qualche occulto sdegno de' Principi maggiori, essendosi forse paruto che con l' occasione del concilio lo havessero con molta arte indotto a concedere alcune cose fuor della sua voluntà, e della propria riputazione; ed a prometterne di quelle, alle quali per altro tempo non si sarebbe lasciato indurre così leggiermente. Ist. xvii, end.

Servantio has given the numbers present thus:—apostolic legates, 4; cardinals, 2; all the ambassadors; patriarchs, 3; archbishops, 25; bishops, 168; proctors of the absent prelates, 7; generals of the orders, 7*.

It cannot be said that the decrees of this session (for canons there were none) distilled as the dew: they fell with the heavy abundance of a clearing shower. Extended as were the statutes of the preceding session, they were far exceeded by the dimensions of this. All the remaining necessary business was to be despatched; and, with the most precipitate and wholesale carelessness, the various, and some of them, doubtless, important subjects, were collected together, and put into the form of laws for the future direction of the universal church. The object which filled the field of view to the fathers and the most holy father, and excluded every other object, was, how to escape the evils and dangers in which the continuance of the council enveloped them. The illness of the pope was a most opportune event in this view; and the knowledge that it operated in this way was probably one great means of his recovery†. The abundant harvest, however, of conciliar enactment would provide an ample field for theological discussion, if that were quite our province. But we cannot resist the invitation to a few desultory strictures.

One of the most remarkable articles in the decrees of this session is the 19th chapter of that of Reformation, where, under pretence of condemning and discouraging the practice of duelling, the most insolent invasion of the secular power of princes is substantiated.

But the most important, if not most remarkable, articles which were the subject of enaction, are those doctrinal ones

* Le Plat has no list, and I do not know of any other. In consequence of a commend under pain of excommunication, to that purpose, 255 persons affixed their subscriptions before they left Trent: they are given in form in Le Plat's edition of the Canons, &c. Ex edit. Rom. conc. Trid., ann. 1763.

† Pallavicino, xxiv, 9, 1, observes, that the news of the *actual* termination of the council assisted the recovery, that is, the complete recovery of the pontiff. The *prospect* of the event would of course tend the same way.

which so grievously terrified the imaginations of the fathers, and which they hardly dared to look at, much less handle.

The purifying flames of purgatory may be left to their own naked destitution of support, either from scripture or legitimate tradition: and there are abundant defenders of the truth who have shown this.

Of the allied subject of Indulgences, I first observe, that a sound and able Romanist, our own bishop Fisher, has admitted them, in their modern sense, to have arisen from the fiction just mentioned, and as a remedy of its terrors*. But without entering upon the subject at large, which would be as unsuitable as it is superfluous, something may be suggested on the subject in addition to what has slightly been observed before, in the form of inquiry, and upon points not perfectly agreed upon, as was sensitively felt, among Romanists themselves—Whether the term indulgence, in its modern acceptation, be identical with the primitive or antient? What may be the source from which the modern indulgences of the church of Rome are derived? What is the fund or treasury, and how supplied? Is it the infinite merits of Christ completed by the finite merits of the saints? Do the copious streams which flow from this reservoir return to it by a circuitous channel, and thus preserve it not only from exhaustion, but diminution? How, and to what extent, do they avail, as personally to the possessor, by whatever means obtained, or to others, and particularly the dead, or those in purgatory; and what is to be understood by particular days being appointed for drawing souls out of that state? Whether in the forms of indulgence when the words *culpa et pœna* are used, there is any distinct meaning in the former particularly, or whether it be not inserted knowingly and

* The passage is generally, I might perhaps say universally, so vaguely and unsatisfactorily referred to, that having formerly been put to a difficulty myself to find it, and having now the book and place before me, I will here state it for the public good. The reference is commonly Art. 18, contra Lutherum. There are several works of Fisher contra Lutherum. The book is, Assertionis Lutheranæ confutatio per Rev. Pat. J. Roffensem Episc. My edition is, Parisiis, 1533.

wilfully to deceive, and when explained is explained by negation? What is meant by the elongated indulgences extending to hundreds and thousands of years, as those of the seven Roman churches, the devotional books entitled Horæ B. Mariæ, and tablets in churches? What is to be understood by the Taxæ Pœnitentiariæ, so carefully unacknowledged and uncondemned—such a scandal to the virtuous Claude d'Espense, and to Dr. Milner of Wolverhampton? What explanation is to be given of the deluge of indulgences, by which all the religious institutions, all the orders, particularly the society of Jesus, all acts, all persons publicly allied with the religion of Rome, are covered? How far are the nominal conditions of indulgences enforced? How does an express licence for future transgression differ from an assurance that absolution may be obtained on easy terms subsequently to transgression, as often as repeated, and that a discharge in full may be commanded, on profession of penitence, in the article of death? And, to come to a close, long before we need, does an indulgence, after all, mean anything, and what? Answers in one sense satisfactory to a Romanist may easily and fully be obtained from the Bullarium Romanum, throughout, and almost in every constitution; in the Mirabilia Romæ, in all languages and of all editions; in Amort, a Regular Canon of Lateran, &c. de Origine, &c. Indulgentiarum, &c. Accurata Notitia, Venetiis, 1738, Superiorum Permissu, ac Privilegio*; in the honest J. B. Thiers, Dr. in Theology, Traité des Superstitions qui regardent les Sacremens, the whole of the fourth volume, where the reader will see detailed the acknowledged and unremoved embarrassments of the reputable chancellor of Paris, Gerson, with respect both to Pœna et Culpa, and the centenary and millenary pardons†. These are all true Roman authorities.

* See particularly pp. 180-4. Add Onuphrius Panvinius, and Attilius Serranus, on the Seven Churches.

† Even Dr. Challoner, in his Catholic Instructed, may be added; although, with an immoral insinuation, he endeavours to throw doubt upon

Of images and the veneration of saints and angels we may observe, that it is not necessary, in order to substan-

the existence of elongated indulgences. But why should Romanists be so nice on this point, when, by the simple process of accumulation, indulgences of moderate length may reach the extent of one of any dimensions, particularly in the case of long livers, and frequent offenders? The letter which was promised in a former page is presented from MS. for the first time by Lagomarsini in his edition of Poggiano's Epistles, and in a note at p. 234 of vol. iii. The letter is to cardinal Borromeo, and dated July 26, 1563, and the following extract is given. Un' altra cosa diremo con questo, che dal tempo, che si venne quà ad aprire il concilio, gia 28 (18?) mesi, fin' adesso si è costumato dalli legati nostri predecessori, e poi da noi ancora, per seguitare l' uso loro, di far pronuntiare nelle messe solenni l' indulgenza quando di 25, quando di 50, quando di 100 anni, e perche qui non si trova, che di ciò sia spetiale facoltà, desideramo, a fine che il popolo non ne resti ad un certo modo defraudato, che nostro signore si degni di confirmare le passate con una benedittione, e per l' avennire per un breve concedere quel tanto, che a sua beatitudine parerà: benchè, per non fare novità, desideraressimo continuar nel modo principiato, mentre staremo quì. The note is on a letter of the cardinal of Augsburgh, dated in February, 1563, where he laments that "the riches of divine goodness, an indulgence of our most holy lord, was not published," (divitias divinæ benignitatis, id est sanctissimi domini nostri indulgentiam non esse pervulgatam.) We have seen instances less redundant of this species of benignity before; but why I produce this richer bounty, amounting to 100 years, is not simply for its superior value, but to show, that in certain meridians, Roman catholics are not so nice and reserved in speaking of these things, as in others—they betray no symptoms of being shocked at them.

That the reader may have all together, I will here add, what he will not easily find elsewhere, the list of indulgences of various sorts, Plenary, and extending specifically to *ten*, and *twenty, years*, &c., which has already been adverted to, and is found in the MS. copy of the Declarationes Cong. Conc. Trid., at the end of the second series of the sessions, or about the middle of the third volume.

1°. A' ciascheduno, che portarà Corona, Rosario, Croce, Medaglie, ò imagine benedetta, e dirà l' officio del Signore, ò della Madonna, ò la terza parte del Rosario, ò sentirà messa, predica, ò digiunerà, visitarà, ò accompagnarà il santissimo sacramento, farà elimosina, amministrerà sacramenti, ò farà altra funtione Parochiale, ò Sacerdotale, ò farà qualsivoglia atto di mortificatione, ancorche alcuna di dette attioni sia fatta, pregando per l' estirpatione dell' heresie, consegua per ciascheduna di dette cose la remissione della terza parte delli suoi peccati, et essendo confessato, e communicato, consegua indulgenza plenaria, e remissione di tutti suoi peccati.

2°. A' ciascheduno, ch' andarà alla Dottrina, fara oratione mentale, l' esame della coscienza, corregerà chi bestemmia, giura, ò dice parole oscene, ò

tiate the charge of idolatry in this practice against the church of Rome, to prove, that the object of such veneration, or worship, call it relative or not, is venerated or worshipped, as the supreme God, a precision of definition which is necessary to exonerate the children of Rome from the charge of idolatry, and which, well knowing, they fail not to use. It is sufficient, that, like the Israelites when arraigned of the crime, they worship the supreme God, through their images or idols, the very form of offence forbidden by the second commandment of the decalogue. It is not necessary that they should be proved guilty of the extreme degree of idolatry: it is enough if they be proved guilty of the essence. A drunkard is chargeable with drunkenness, although he be not intoxicated so often as is possible. And

farà la Disciplina per un miserere, porterà il cilicio, ò visiterà gl' hospedali, ò alcun Infermo, ò accompagnerà li morti alla sepoltura, ò la sera dirà il De profundis, ò tre Pater noster, e 3 Ave Maria per le Anime del Purgatorio, o sentirà sermoni, ò fara paci, ò simili, ancorche alcuna per obligo, e pregara per l' esaltatione di Santa Madre Chiesa, consegua per ciascuna di dette cose dieci anni d' indulgenza, et essendo confessato, e communicato indulgenza Plenaria, e remissione di tutti li suoi peccati.

3°. A' chi fara reverenza divotamente à Croci, o Imagini, ò in qualsivoglia hora del giorno, si accommandarà à Dio, ò alla Madonna, ò al suo Angelo Custode, al Santo, ch' haverà in devotione, ò renderà gratie a Sua Divina Maestà de' beneficii recevuti, o nel principio di qualsivoglia buona opera, ò in tempo di qualsivoglia tentatione, farà 3 volte il segno della Croce, ò dirà 3 volte Deus adjutorium meum intende, ò farà qualche opera di pietà, guadagnera per ogn' una dieci anni.

4o. Ogni volta che dolendosi de' suoi peccati fara proposito di confessarsi à suo tempo, guadagni dieci anni d' Indulgenza, e facendo l' esame della coscienza, consegua la remissione della terza parte de' suoi peccati, et effettualmente confessandosi, e pregando per il felice stato di Santa Chiesa, guadagni il doppio.

5°. Ogni volta, che si confesserà, ò communicherà, ò dirà Messe per devotione, ò per obligo, e pregherà per l' esaltatione di Santa Chiesa, e per l' estirpatione dell' heresie, consegua Indulgenza Plenaria, e remissione di tutti li suoi peccati, e pregando per le Anime de' morti, liberi ogni volta un' Anima del Purgatorio per modum suffragii à sua intentione.

6°. Chi farà dire tre Messe di morti in uno, ò più giorni, liberi dodici volte l' anno per ogni volta un' Anima del Purgatorio per modum suffragii à sua intentione.

it is not necessary, for the same purpose, that the rites and forms of idolatry should be strictly the same as those of the heathens: it is sufficient, that there is a substantial identity: it makes no essential difference in the instance of the drunkard, whether he offend by simple fermented liquor or by ardent spirits. There are three important historical points on this subject—In the primitive times, Christian writers condemned image-worship altogether, and the heathens never reproached them with any practical self-contradiction; when, in later times, professed Christians *were* guilty of the practice, the heathens *did* reproach them with it; and the heathens vindicated their own practice by precisely the same arguments as those now used by Romanists —they worshipped their idols only mediately *.

The ultimate formation and publication by his own authority of the Index of prohibited books, was committed to the pontiff. It is not likely, that the author should have much remaining to say on this subject. And yet there is a use which the index subserves, not particularly noticed by him, and not always, although rather obvious, considered as it ought to be. If no such supremely authentic catalogue existed, upon any charge against the church of Rome, of doctrines or forms, such for instance as those highly objectionable ones, which appear in Cassander's Consultatio, under the head *de Meritis et Intercessione Sanctorum*, where certain blasphemous hymns to the Virgin Mary are referred to, it might be answered by the representatives of the Roman church,—true, these are perfectly unjustifiable excesses, and our church, instead of sanctioning, utterly disavows and condemns them. But here is a book

* See Whitby's Tract of the Error of the Church of Rome discovered by the worship of Images. I refer to the Tract in its original form, but believe it is in Gibson's collection. But Faber's Difficulties of Romanism, last edition, and Garbett's Nullity of the Roman Faith, may stand in the place of every thing on this, and all the main points of controversy with papists. I ought not, however, to omit the triumphs of Wake and Stillingfleet, in their various works on the Idolatry of the church of Rome. The latter, in particular, has driven the enemy from all his posts.

deliberately and repeatedly, up to the present time, republished with constant additions,—the very plan, not only most suitable for, but on every ground most urgently calling for, the expression and publication of such disclaimer and condemnation; and yet such documents and customs, necessarily notorious and known, pass, not only without censure, but without notice. If the church of Rome had employed her best ingenuity to devise by what act she could most effectually bind upon her own back the responsibility of such iniquities, she could not have adopted one more perfectly successful.

The reformation of the Breviary and Missal was likewise committed to his holiness's care. Although there was complaint enough, and with justice, of the atrocious corruptions of the Roman formularies of public worship, which had already produced a purification too searching for Rome in the breviary of cardinal Quignon, the partial and confined adoption of that reformed liturgy, left it still in Germany a grievance, that the liturgical books were full of foolish and apocryphal matter. In the *Consultatio* of the emperor Ferdinand on the subject of reformation, prepared in March, 1562, and intended for the consideration of the council, but not read, for which an apology was made, the twelfth article runs as follows: Cum negari nequeat temporum vitio multa inepta, apocrypha, parumque ad sincerum cultum pertinentia in cantiones et preces Ecclesiæ irrepsisse, sacro Concilio enitendum erit, ut libri Missales, Graduales, Antiphonarii, Agendæ, et Breviaria religiose et diligenter recognoscantur, et repurgentur, utque nihil in Ecclesia legendum, canendum, orandum, seu populo proponendum permittatur, quod non sit ex divinis literis desumptum, aut hisce omnino consentaneum, prout vel ex sanctis Patribus, vel probatis historiis ecclesiasticis demonstrari possit, prout antiquis Conciliis cautum esse cognoscitur. There is more about the singing*. Had it not been for this secular re-

* Schelhornii Amœn. Eccles. i. pp. 490, *et seq.*, particularly 533-4. Le Plat has copied the document in his fifth volume, and inserted from Raynaldus the apology for not reading it, at pp. 328-9.

monstrance, in all probability nothing would have been done; and in consequence of it how little was done!

Of the Catechism, for which the council provided in the same way, I have said something in another place *.

At the last session of the council a sermon was delivered by Girolamo Ragazzone, a Venetian, which was much commended†, and is generally postfixed to the editions of the canons and decrees of the council. He, as well as other panegyrists and apologists down to Campian and Butler, have endeavoured to persuade the world, that this last was among the purest and most beneficial that was ever assembled‡. We are

* Life and Pontificate of Saint Pius V, &c., pp. 38, 9.

† It is called by Servantio una bellissima oratione.

‡ C. Butler, Esq. in an Appendix to the end of the first volume of his Historical Memoirs, &c. on the Council of Trent, observes, 'that a considerable proportion of the prelates, by whom the council was attended, were distinguished by learning, virtue, and enlightened zeal for religion, has never been denied. Perhaps no civil or religious meeting ever possessed a greater assemblage of moral, religious, and intellectual endowment.' He proceeds to show, from the acknowledgment of Courayer, that 'several excellent regulations were made,' &c. Let us hear another Roman Catholic, Dr. Alex. Geddes, speaking on the same subject. 'Some few of those prelates were, for the time, learned, and most of them virtuous, or at least pious, men. Nor can it be denied, that among several trifling, and some eventually pernicious regulations, they also made many useful ones, and would have undoubtedly made many more, if they had not been cramped by the pope's legates, supported by a firm phalanx of transalpine bishops, and a subtle crew of scholastic divines, of whom the greater part were friars, devoted to the Roman see, and ever ready to defend its most extravagant claims.' And so on. Letter to Right Rev. John Douglass, Bishop of Centuriæ, and V. A. in the London District, Appendix, p. 54. Note. Mr. Butler's usual method of defending what is indefensible is somewhat of this sort. The man, it is true, has been convicted, by undeniable evidence, of robbery and murder, aggravated by circumstances of atrocious and wanton barbarity; nor have there been any subsequent indications of compunction. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that he was a person of very fascinating manners, and the life of every convivial party to which he was admitted; nor would he, in all probability, have been concerned in the unfortunate transaction, had he not been overcome by singular and almost irresistible temptation.

There is much artifice in the general List, subjoined to the editions of the Canons and Decrees of the Council, of the Prelates and others who attended it. The last column designates the country of each. That of Italy is subdivided into almost the minutest portions imaginable—evidently for no

content with the more sober and historical statements to be found in the authorities which have been mainly and almost exclusively cited in the preceding memoirs. And when the reader has perused the testimony of eye-witnesses and parties, of leaders themselves, unexceptionable, and even favourable to their subject as they are, let him honestly say, (without denying considerable exception, but smothered and quenched,) whether, in the whole compass of history, any legislative assembly, the farthest possible remote from religion of any kind or degree, can be pointed out, in which more of exclusively secular motives and objects, more interested policy, more immoral and dishonourable intrigue, more flagrant injustice towards the party devoted to suppression, and more violent and indecorous internal contention were exhibited, than in this professedly religious convocation of all the spiritual wisdom and piety of Christendom, arrogating to itself the peculiar direction of the Holy Spirit, and undertaking to enact and issue laws, both for the defence and guidance of the universal church, and for the correction or condemnation of its enemies.

other purpose than to disguise the disproportionate and extravagant superiority in number of the Italians.

APPENDIX.

Page 69.—*Colloquy of Ratisbon in* 1546.

Some account of this religious assembly, bearing so sensibly, as all the national ones did, on the operations and authority of the Tridentine council, may prove acceptable to the reader. A papal relation of it was published in the year after its meeting under the title Actorum Colloquii Ratisponensis ultimi, quomodo inchoatum, ac desertum, quæq; in eodem extemporali oratione inter partes disputata fuerint, verissima narratio. Jussu Cæ. Ma. conscripta et edita. Lovanii Apud Martinum Rotarium, Anno 1547. Cum gratia et privilegio. It is a small volume, unpaged, and apparently but little known. As might be expected, its contents are distinguished by the sectarian partiality of the communion with which it originated; and it is accordingly entitled to very moderate confidence. The principal disputants were, the Spaniard Malvenda and the better-known Bucer; and the superiority is of course made to appear to remain with the former. Happily, other accounts are in existence. The laborious and accurate Seckendorf has detailed their contents, Comm. de Luth. lib. iii, sect. 35, § cxxxii, although he seems to have been ignorant of the work mentioned above, at least has made no mention of it. The protestant narrations are in German, and probably not less *veræ* than the *verissima*. The discussion commenced in January of 1546, and was on the subject of Justification—a subject which admits of much sophistic misrepresentation and evasion. One of the earliest and most remarkable features in it is, the stipulation insisted upon by the Roman party, that nothing should be binding upon them which they might assert inconsistent with apostolic tradition, or the decrees of the church; and that, if anything through error or imprudence escaped them, of this description, it should be considered null and unsaid—an eminently prudent precaution, by which they effectually secured themselves against the effect of any

concession which the force of truth might extort; and by it they virtually acknowledged, that the whole matter of discussion was prejudged and predetermined, and that the exhibition of debate was perfect mockery. We might almost imagine this was an invention of the protestants, did we not read in plain letters, and in the little book, these words:—Duo se (the catholics, as they call themselves) interim pro se collegisq; suis testata facere. Primum, nullum dictum suum collegarumve in hoc congressu quomodocunque elatum, ejusmodi fore, ut ejus sententia et assertione velint sacris scripturis, aut apostolicis traditionibus, aut Ecclesiæ Catholicæ decretis adversare, sed si quid tale vel errore vel imprudentia exciderit, pro irrito ac non dicto haberi. The rest substantially agrees with the account of the Lutheran historian, particularly as to the contents of the imperial letters, in which one of the injunctions was, *that* of secresy: this occasioned the sudden dissolution of the meeting on the part of the protestants. In fact, they thought they saw, (and there is no reason to believe their vision false,) that the whole affair was intended as a trap, and if they fell into it, those who set it would attain their object. They complained, likewise, and with equal appearance of truth, of the arrogant and overbearing conduct of Malvenda, who knew, and behaved as if he knew, that the sword and power were on his side. It is the one and uniform object of Romanists, in all discussions with their opponents, to force the breaking up of them in such a manner as to make it *appear* to be the act of the latter.

Page 155.—*Reserved Cases.*

As these are recognized and established by the 7th chapter and 11th canon of the Doctrinal Decree of Penance in the 14th session of the council, and as, of course, they are still in force, although, on a recent occasion, the Irish Doctors of the papal communion assuming prelacy, thought fit virtually to deny the fact, it has appeared desirable to repeat in these pages a document of not very common occurrence. It is copied from a Quaternio (the usual form of printing such things in Rome) without a date, but, from historic and other circumstances, probably of the age of Leo X. I have two, evidently different, editions, but agreeing almost to a letter, and apparently of the same age.

Casus Papales: Episcopales: et Abbatiales.

Primus casus papalis est in illo qui percutit enormiter clericum: ut probatur. xvii. 9. ca. Si quis suadente. Si autem est levis percussio Epus absolvit: ut in ca. pervenit de sen. excom.

2 dus est in illo qui comburit ecclesias vel eas infringit qui postquam denunciatus est absolutio pertinet ad solum papam: ut de sen. excom. ca. conquesti. Item idem est de quocumque alio incendiario si forte excommunicetur vel publicetur: ut de sen excom. c. tua.

3 tius est in illo qui falsificat litteras dni nostri pape vel falsis scienter utitur: de cri. fal. c. cura et c. falsariorum.

4 tus est in illo qui excommunicatus est a delegato pape: qui non potest absolvi per aliquem nisi per papam vel pape delegatum: ut de sen. excom. c. significavit.

5 tus est in illo qui participat cum excommunicato a papa: qui non potest absolvi nisi per papam: quod intelligitur de participatione in crimine propter quod talis est excommunicatus.

6 tus est in illo qui participat in osculo vel aliis ei qui excommunicatus est per papam cum participantibus: quoniam iste talis ab illo debet absolvi qui sententiam tulit.

7 mus est in clerico qui secundas nuptias benedixit: de secun. nup. c. i. Sed de isto casu an sit papalis vel episcopalis dubitant multi.

8 vus est in persecutoribus cardinalium qui graves et multas penas incurrunt: ut habetur in c. felicis. de peni. li. vi.

9 nus est in eo qui dat licentiam gravandi eos qui tulerunt sententiam excōis suspensionis vel interdicti: vel eos in suis personis vel bonis: ut de sen. excom. c. quicunque li. vi.

10 mus est in eo qui corpus defuncti incendit vel decoquit pro ossibus transferendis: in extrava. Boni. viii. de test.

11 mus est in inquisitoribus hereticorum si odio vel grā amore vel lucro contra justitiam vel cōsciām omiserint contra quempiam procedere: vel ipsam heresim alicui imponere: ut habetur in de. de here. c. multorum.

12 mus est de religiosis qui absque speciali licentia parochialis presbyteri solemnisant matrimonia aut ministrant sacramenta: velut eucharistie aut extreme unctionis. Sufficit tamen licentia parochialis clerici etiam si nondum est sacerdos. Similiter etiam licentia illius vicarii qui gerit ordinariam curam illius ecclesie.

Item sufficit licentia diocesani: ut no. ioan. de privi. reli. in de. Item excommunicati sunt religiosi qui excommunicatos a canone absolvunt in casibus non concessis: aut absolvunt a sententiis per syodalia statuta sive provincialia promulgatis aut absolvunt a pena et culpa: de penis c. si quis in de.

13 mus est de persecutoribus eporū: vel qui eos faciunt exulari: seu procurant illos ad persequendum: vel carceri tradunt aut qui precipiunt hoc fieri: vel tribuunt auxilium consilium vel favorem ad hoc faciendum.

14 tus est de religiosis vel clericis inducentibus ad fovendum vel prohittendum vel jurandum de eligenda sepultura apud eos: vel ultimam jam electam ulterius non immutent: ut habetur in de. de penis. c. cupientes.

15 tus est de his qui cogunt celebrari sibi in loco interdicto vel ad audiendum invocant excommunicatos vel interdictos vel prohibent eis ne moniti exeant: et de illis qui moniti non exeunt: ut habetur de sen. excom. c. gravis in de.

16 tus est de his qui ferunt ferrum arma et equos ad impugnandum christianos: vel alia necessaria deferunt vel transmittunt seu galeas vel naves vendunt: vel in piraticis sarracenorum navibus gubernationem exercent: vel impendunt consilium et auxilium in dispendium terre sancte: ut habetur in de c. quorundam et c. ad liberandam. Et iste casus est papalis per extra. Boni. viii. que incipit contra illos.

17 mus est in piratis qui ore papali excommunicantur: ut no. io. An. in c. excommunicationum de rap.

18 vus est de eo qui absolutis propter mortis articulum vel aliud impedimentum ab eo a quo alias absolvi non poterat si cessante impedimento non se presentat cum se commode poterit ei a quo prius absolvi debebat: in eadem sententia qua prius ligatus erat ab homine vel alias a jure reincidit ipso facto ut in c. eos: de sen. ex li. vi. Pone exemplum de alio impedimento: videlicet ut egritudo vel inimicitie capitales: ut no. glo. in c. religioso de sen. excom. li. vi. Et iste casus est papalis si talis absolvendus erit a papa.

19 nus est in absoluto a papa vel ejus penitentiario de ipsius speciali mandato: qui se debet alicujus conspectui presentare. Nam reincidit si hoc non faciat: ut in precedenti casu dictum est ut in dicto c. eos de sen. excom. li. vi.

20 mus Imperator: rex: vel princeps: dux: marchio vel comes: aut baro: vel aliquis alius notabilis preeminentie dignitatis vel

potestatis frater filius vel nepos ipsorum qui ad terminum vel imperpetuum nominatur eligitur vel assumitur in rectorem vel senatorem urbis Rome quocunque nomine vocetur ipsa rectoria: et quicunque alius qui ultra annum ad hujusmodi regimen assumitur preter apostolice sedis licentiam: omnes predicti in lris ipsius sedis exprimendi et consentientes sue nominationi electioni vel assumptioni et eos taliter nominantes eligentes vel assumentes: et eis obedientes auxilium consilium, vel favorem dantes sunt absolvendi per papam: ut de elec. c. quod si quis li. vi.

Unde versus

Per papam: clerum feriens: falsarius: urens
Solvitur: et quisquis audet cantare ligatus:
Symon qui fuerit: nec fallit regula talis.

Nota tamen quod non omnis percutiens clericum tenetur ire ad papam: ut patet per sequentes versus

Percutiens clericum Romam petat excipiuntur
Ut puer: atque senex: egrotus: femina: pauper:
Et claustralis: habens inimicos: et hostia servans.

Finiunt casus papales.

Incipiunt casus Episcopales.

Sciant sacerdotes quod licet in privata penitentia pro occultis delictis regularem possunt imponere penitentiam: ut habetur in c. presbyteri xxvi. 9. i. Regulare enim est quod ipsi cognoscere possint de omnibus criminibus occultis: ut in ca. si peccaverit ii. 9. 1. Sunt tamen etiam certi casus de quibus ipsi cognoscere non possunt: immo de talibus criminibus oportet eos necessario remittere suos confitentes ad superiorem prelatum id est episcopum. Et isti casus dicuntur episcopales: et sunt isti qui sequuntur: quos no. Hosti. in summa de pe. et remis. § iiii. v. cui confitendum. Notat eos latius specu. in iv. parte circa fi. de pe. et re. § vi. ver. privata autem.

1 mus casus episcopalis est in illo qui cognovit carnaliter monialem consecratam vel non consecratam: virginem vel non virginem: vel forte si mulier coivit cum religioso dum non sit in loco sacro: quia tunc esset papalis.

2 dus est in eo qui verberat patrem aut matrem scil. ex casu: sed si ex certa scientia absolutio spectat ad solum papam.

3 tius est in eo qui deflorat virginem fraudulenter: sed si violenter maliciose et vi absolutio ad solum papam spectat.

4 tus est in eo qui in mortem conjugis machinatur.

5 tus est in eo qui abutitur crismate: vel eucharistia: vel alia re sacra: aut facit furtum in ecclesia: et etiam in illo clerico ex cujus negligentia hoc contingit.

6 tus est in eo qui baptizavit proprium filium: vel eum ad baptisma vel confirmationem tenuit.

7 mus est in eo qui facit votum castitatis: et post votum contrahitur cum aliqua: vel aliqua cum aliquo.

8 vus est in eo qui contrahit vel continet seu religionem intrat in vita uxoris sue post carnalem copulum.

9 nus est in illo malefico qui confitetur se credidisse heretice pravitati.

10 mus est in symoniaco: sub quocunque genere symonie fuerit symoniacus quoad absolutionem non quoad dispensationem: que ad solum papam spectat.

11 mus est in illo qui excommunicatus est: et solemniter celebrat in ecclesia quoad absolutionem.

12 mus est in illo qui per saltum est promotus.

13 mus est in eo qui ordinatur ab alieno epō: sine licentia sui proprii episcopi.

14 tus est in homicida: sive in verbo: sive in consensu: vel se defendendo: vel dormiendo: vel si occidat furem vim facientem: vel si homicida fuerit infantis.

15 tus est de committente luxuriam in ecclesia maxime consecrata.

16 tus est in eo qui coit cum judea vel sarracena.

17 mus est in muliere que concepit ex alio vero ut vir suus credens eum suum proprium filium esse instituit eum heredem in aliorum prejudicium et gravamen.

18 vus est in illo vel illa qui vel que procurat abortum vel sterilitatem sive in se sive in alia.

19 nus est in eo qui est excommunicatus a judice et non vult exire ecclesiam: sed est divinum officium impediens.

20 mus est in eo qui contrahit matrimonium post sponsalia contracta cum alia vel juramento interposito in contractu.

21 mus est in eo qui scienter celebrat in loco interdicto sive in publico sive in secreto.

22 est in eo qui est sortilegus videlicet in illo qui invocat demones pro furtis vel mulieribus vel aliis rebus: licet aliqui extendant istum casum ad existentes in sacris ordinibus.

23 est in illo qui scienter et publice sepelit corpus alicujus excommunicati in cimeterio.

24 est in illo qui excommunicatus est a canone in casibus in quibus ab epō potest absolvi.

25 est in eo qui est irregularis.

26 est in eo qui contrahit matrimonium clandestine.

27 est in eo qui est criminosus publicus vel blasphemator.

28 est si epūs audivit confessionem de aliquo peccato inferior clericus non habet talem absolvere: sed debet ipsum ad episcopum mittere.

29 est de illo vel illa qui vel que opprimit filios suos studiose vel negligenter.

30 est in eo qui permittit sacrilegium vel incendium.

31 est in illo qui committit crimen falsi sive in litteris sive in testimonium commissum. Et quod dico de litteris intelligo non papalibus quia ille casus est papalis.

32 est in eo qui violat ecclesias et libertates et immunitates earum.

33 est in eo qui committit peccatum contra naturam ut puta si vir virum cognoscit: vel brutum: vel si abutitur membro mulieris ad hoc non concesso.

34 est in illo qui committit incestum ut si cognoscat consanguineam personam.

35 est in illo qui est perjurus: licet aliqui volunt illum extendere de perjurio pueri qui est infra sacros ordines.

36 est de illo clerico qui cognovit carnaliter illam quam baptizavit vel illam cujus confessionem audivit.

37 est de illo qui excommunicatus est ab epō qui non potest absolvi per aliquem inferiorem clericum.

38 est in illo qui est usurarius publicus.

39 est in illo qui celebrat missam in altari non consecrato: vel si celebrat sine sacris indumentis: vel si celebrat non jejunus.

40 est in illo qui non restituit oblata vel subtracta vel alia illicite acquisita.

Nota: quod si epūs committat alicui sacerdoti vices suas in casibus in quibus episcopus ipse habet potestatem: talis sacerdos potest jurisdictionem exercere in omnibus casibus preter quinque qui sequuntur.

1 est ubi penitentia solemnis est imponenda.

2 est quia sacerdos non potest absolvere ab excommunicatione

in casu in quo epus posuit limitationem nisi specialiter ei committat.

3 est ubicunque invenerit irregularitatem contractam: tunc enim debet eum remittere ad episcopum vel ordinarium.

4 est de incendiariis.

5 si est de consuetudine alicujus diocesis quod certa crimina remittantur.

Casus in quibus habent dispensare abbates.

Dispensant abbates cum ingresso religionem ut ad ordines in monasterio et ecclesiis subjectis monasterio promoveantur: si no. d. Hof. de fil. presbi. in glo. que incipit ac nota: et in textu satis probatur in v. ubi monachi, &c.

Dispensant abbates cum monachis sui monasterii circa esum carnium: ut de sta. mo. cum ad monasticum: et de con. di. v. carnem.

Dispensant abbates cum monacho vel converso professo constituendo sibi cellam specialem. xx. 9. vl. monachum.

Dispensant abbates cum monacho qui suum ordinem recepit furtive de eo qui fur. ordi. rece. cum b.

Dispensant abbates monachum licentiando ut ad aliam religionem transeat. de regu. licet vel ad equalem: justa de causa: ad minorem non posset. Et ita debet intelligi decre. et no. de hoc de regul. non est in glo. que incipit Et merito.

Dispensant abbates cum monacho qui excommunicatus est pro injectione manuum in clericum violenta se fecit ordinari propter jus secundum quod traditur de sen. excom. cum illorum in fi.

Dispensant abbates cum monacho qui mutavit habitum et in alio monasterio sine licentia sui abbatis fuit ordinatus et no. per d. Hof. de tempo. ordi. ex parte in glo. que incipit Ideo.

Finiunt casus Papales: Episcopales: et Abbatiales.

On this subject there is extant a public and authentic record, containing an article so atrociously gross and grotesque, that no mind but that of a papal casuist could have conceived it; and it would be absolutely incredible if not attested by undeniable and producible fact. It was first made generally public by De Potter, in his Vie de Scipion de Ricci, Bruxelles, 1826, tome ii, pp. 326, 7. It occurs in the Appendix to the Constitutiones Synodales of the

last of the royal house of the Stuarts, Henry, Cardinal Duke of York, bishop of Frascati, and bears the date of 1764. The title of the particular portion in which the offensive passage is found, is Casus quorum absolutionem sibi reservat regia celsitudo eminentissima dominus cardinalis dux eboracensis episcopus tusculanus. I have no inclination to disgust the reader with the quotation, which may be found in the Appendix, No. 12, cap. 10, art. 9, § 9, or p. 545; and will only add, that I have the two bulky quartos, of which the whole work consists, in my possession, and therefore know, which I had no reason previously to doubt, that De Potter's statement is perfectly correct. The volumes are magnificently printed in Rome by the episcopal printer, Superioribus Annuentibus. The Appendix contains other documents of curiosity and importance—particularly at p. 575 and following, a re-edition of the bull in Cœna Domini by Clement XIII, in 1764; and several bulls, attempting to arrest the course of sacerdotal crime by means of the confessions of female penitents: and at p. 595 and following, are given long and precise directions in what manner depositions are to be received on that subject.

To do justice, however, to the royal duke and cardinal, it may be observed, that in his directions for self-examination in order to confession, he has declined the disgusting turpitude which, in the English language, in Protestant England, and in stereotype, disgraces the *Garden of the Soul*, where a course of examination for the same purpose is prescribed, in which impurity is made the theme of critical and intense meditation—is kept infixed upon the memory and imagination for the purpose of future and accurate confession—confession in the ears of a *man*—a man who, although a priest, may be a vitious man—whose vitiosity has abundant chances of being increased by such confession—and who is thereby qualified and incited to be a tempter to others. That such iniquity is no calumny or visionary dread, is too well and publicly confirmed by the means made use of by the highest authority in the Roman church to prevent or restrain it; and the repetition of such attempts proclaims their inefficacy. It is no small aggravation of the disgrace of this *popular Manual of Devotion*, that a late edition of it, *expurgated* in the particular objected to, has incurred on that very ground the deliberate censure of a Roman Catholic periodical, eminent indeed principally for its puerility and its rancour.

Page 189.—*Auto de Fe at Valladolid in* 1559.

The operations of the Inquisition, particularly that of Spain, are intimately connected not only with the papacy in general, but in an especial manner with the spirit and proceedings of the council of Trent. Paul IV, we have seen, placed more reliance upon the holy tribunal than upon the holy synod, for the extirpation of heresy. And with good reason, since his faithful son, Philip of Spain, had succeeded so well with this instrument. Upon the ground of this success, an attempt was made to introduce the remedy into France; but the virtue of the parliament repugned and defeated the attempt till a substitute for it was found in the St. Bartholomew Massacre. No apology, therefore, can be needed for re-editing a small tract of extreme rarity, narrating rather circumstantially one of the most important and efficacious Autos —*that* celebrated at Valladolid, May 21, 1559. It is in Italian, and printed at Bologna, to all appearance at the very time, and probably under the auspices of the inquisitorial pontiff just mentioned. And as its authenticity is confirmed by the according account of the same Auto, in the Hist. Pontif. Catol. of Yllescas, Part ii, capit. xxx, § iv, pp. 723, &c. ed. Mad., 1613; so does it, in its turn, corroborate the Registers, and the one of the same Auto in particular, appended by V. Skinner to the second edition of his translation of Montanus's Account of the Arts of the Spanish Inquisition in 1569, under the title, 'A discovery and playne declaration of the sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spain,' &c. The Registers are only found in this second edition, which is eminently scarce.

The Italian account, here afresh presented to the reader, will not, it is hoped, prove unserviceable to Dr. M'Crie in a second edition, which is reckoned upon, of his highly valuable History of the Suppression of the Reformation in Spain.

It is only necessary further to notice in the title-page the error of *June* for *May*. The 21st of June could in no year be Trinity Sunday; and the Tables of Nicolas in the year 1559, exhibit Trinity Sunday as the 21st of May. This, in fact, is the day expressed in Yllescas. Skinner's date is likewise wrong a few days: but this is a trifle—the identity is evident.

Relatione dell' Atto della Fede, che si è celebrato dall' officio della Santa Inquisitione di Valladolid. Nel Giorno della Domi-

nica della Santissima Trinita, à xxi. del mese di Giugno, della Nativita del nostro Signore Giesu Christo M.D.LIX. Col Nome di tutti quelli Signori, et Donne, che sono stati abbrusciati, et anco le Condannaggioni de' Racconciliati.

[A figure of St. Peter with the legend, SANTUS PETRUS.]

In Bologna, per Alessandro Benacio, et compagni.

ESSENDOSI fatto un palco grande, & ben fabricato per l' effetto che si fece in la piazza maggiore di Valladolid, appresso alla casa del Concistorio, & acconcia la stanza dove haveano da stare le persone Regale in la detta Casa, & altri Palchi, & stanze per li Conseglieri, Tribunali, Cavalieri, & altre persone, de questa corte, & Cancellaria della detta Terra, et di molti altri luochi del Regno, che qui concorsero, di maniera, che tutta la piazza, finestre, tetti, e strade stavano piene di gente per vedere l' atro*. In questo mezzo uscirno di Palazzo innanzi le dieci hore la Serenissima Prencipessa, dona Giovana Governatrice di questi Regni, & Don Carlo Prencipe di Spagna, accompagnati dall' Arcivescovo di S. Giacopo, il Contestabile, l' Almirante di Castiglia, il Marchese d' Astorga, il Conte di Miranda, il Marchese di Denica, il Mastro di Montesa, il Marchese di Sarria, il Maggiordomo maggiore della Prencipessa, Don Garzia di Toledo, il Mastro di creāza del Prencipe, il Conte di Osorno, il Conte di Nieua, il Conte di Modica, il Conte di Saldagna, il Conte di Zibadeo, il Conte di Andrada, & molti altri Cavallieri, oltre quelli delle case di sue Altezze. Venivano innanzi a sue Altezze due balestrieri di mazza, & duoi d' arme con l' insegne reali, & il Conte di Bondia con lo stocco, & innanzi che sue Altezze arrivassero nella piazza stavano in suoi palchi, & stanze, l' Arcivescovo di Siviglia Inquisitor generale, et quelli del Consiglio della santa Inquisitione, & con esso il Vescovo di Ciuidad Roderigo, & il Conseglio Real, l' Inquisitori, & il Vescovo di Valentia, come ordinario, & con essi il Vescovo d' Oriēs & tutti gli altri Consegli. Et poi che arrivorno sue Altezze, venne la processione delli prigioni penitenti, con il clero, & Croce coperta di tela nera, & con la Bandiera del santo officio, tutti ordinatamente per una contratella, ò valle, che si fece dalla casa della Inquisitione fino al palco della piazza, perche li penitenti caminassero per mezzo con li famigliari della Inquisitione,

* atto.

& non l' impedissero la quantità delle genti ch' erano per le strade. Arrivati tutti al Palco, si assettarono, & subito predicò il Nuestro fra Melchior Cano, il Vescovo che fu di Canaria, dell' ordine di santo Domenico, & fece una predica molto dotta, prudente, & solenne, come in tal tempo, & luoco si ricercava.

Finita la predica, l' Arcivescovo di Siviglia andò dove stavano sue Altezze, & li fece giurare sopra una Croce, & un Messale, sopra che posero sue reali mani in questo modo.

Perche, per decreti Apostolici, & sacri Canoni è ordinato, che li Re giurino di favorire la santa fe Catholica, & religion Christiana, per tanto conforme a questo, vostre Altezze giurano per Dio, per Santa Maria, per li santi Evangelii, & per il segno della Croce, dove han posto sue Reali mani, che daranno tutto il favor necessario al santo officio dell' Inquisitione, & a suoi ministri contra li heretici, & apostati, & contra tutti quelli che li favoriranno, & defenderanno, & contra qual si vogliano persone, che directe, o indirecte impediranno le cose di questo santo officio, & che astrengeranno tutti suoi Suditi, & naturali, ad obedire, & osservare le constitutioni, & lettere Apostolice, date, & promulgate in difensione di nostra santa fè catholica contra li heretici, & contra quelli che li crederanno, recettaranno, favoriranno, & difenderanno, sue Altezze risposero. Cosi giuramo; & l' Arcivescovo li disse, & per questo nostre Signore prosperi per molti anni le Real persone, & stati di vostre Altezze.

Finito di giurare sue Altezze, uno delli Relatori che si stavano disse alli circonstanti, se giuravano il medesimo quanto fosse il loro, & tutti risposero, che si. Et allhora cominciarono a leggere le sentenze delli detti condennati, che sono gli infrascritti.

Gli Abbrusciati.

Il Dottor Agostino de Cazaglia, capellano, & prædicatore di Sua Maesta, habitatore di Valladolid, degradato, & abbrusciato in persona per Lutherano, mastro et prædicatore della detta setta di Luthero, con confiscation de beni.

Francesco de Viuero, prete suo fratello, habitator di Valladolid, degradato, & abbrusciato in persona per Lutherano, & mastro della detta setta, con confiscatione de beni.

Donna Beatrice de Viuero, monaca, sorella delli sopradetti,

abrusciata in persona per Lutherana, et maestra della detta setta con confiscation de beni.

Donna Leonora de Viuero, madre delli sopradetti morta, habitatrice che fu di Valladolid, condennata sua memoria, & fama abrusciata in statua per lutherana, con confiscation de beni, & commandossi, che fosse rovinata la sua casa, perche in essa si ragunavano alcune persone à predicare, & insegnare la detta setta pestifera di Luthero, & che nel suolo di essa fosse posta una colonna, o marmo, à perpetua memoria, con lettere, che dichiarino, perche fu rovinata.

Il mastro Alons Perez, prete habitator, di Palentia degradato, et abrusciato per lutherano con confiscation de beni.

Il Baccillieri Antonio de Herezzuolo, habitator de Toro abbrusciato in persona per lutherano pertinace, con confiscation de beni.

Christophoro di Ocampo, habitator di Zamora, abbrusciato in persona per lutherano, con confiscation de beni.

Il licentiato Francesco di Errera, nativo di Pegnaranda, abbrusciato in persona per lutherano, con confiscation de beni.

Giovan Garsia argentiero, habitator di Valladolid, abbrusciato in persona per lutherano, con confiscation de beni.

Christophoro di Padiglia, habitator di Zamora, abbrusciato in persona per lutherano dogmatizator, & come Heresiarcha della detta Setta, con confiscation de beni.

Isabella de strada habitatrice di Pedrosa, abbrusciata in persona per lutherana dogmatizatrice della detta Setta, con confiscation de beni.

Giovanna Velazques nativa di Pedrosa, abbrusciata in persona per lutherana, con confiscation de beni.

Gonzalo Vaes Portughese habitator di Lisbona, abbrusciato in persona, perche era stato Giudeo, & Giudaizava, con confiscatione de beni.

Catherina Romana, habitatrice di Pedrosa, abbrusciata in persona per lutherana, con confiscation de beni.

Donna Catherina de Ortegha, habitatrice di Valladolid, abbrusciata in persona per lutherana, maestra della detta Setta, con confiscation de beni.

Reconciliati.

Don Louigi de Roias, nepote del Marchese di Poza, figliuolo maggiore de l' herede del Marchesato, reconciliato per lutherano,

con confiscatione de tutti i suoi beni, & habito dal palco fin' alla tornata alla casa del santo Officio, & non piu.

Donna Anna Henriques, habitatrice di Toro, figliuola della Marchesa de Alchanixas, & nepote al detto Marchese di Poza, moglie di don Giovanni Alfonso di Fonseca reconciliata per lutherana, con confiscatione de beni, & habito dal palco fin' alla tornata alla casa del santo Officio, & non piu.

Don Pietro Sarmiento Commendator dell' Ordine di Alchantara, habitator di Palentia, figlio del Marchese di Poza, reconciliato per lutherano con confiscation de beni, & habito, & carcere perpetua.

Donna Mentia de Figueroa, moglie del detto, reconciliata per lutherana, con confiscation de beni, & habito, & carcere perpetua.

Giovan d' Ulloa Pereira Commendator dell' Ordine di san Giovanni, habitator di Toro, reconciliato per Lutherano, con confiscatione de beni, & habito dal palco fino alla tornata alla casa del santo Officio, & non piu.

Leonora de Cisneros, moglie del Baccilliero Antonio Herrezuelo, habitatrice di Toro, reconciliata per Lutherana, con confiscation de beni, & habito, & carcere perpetua.

Giovan de Viuero fratello del dottor Cazaglia, habitatore di Valladolid, reconciliato per Lutherano, con confiscation de beni, habito, & perpetua carcere irremissibile.

Donna Giovanna de Silva, moglie del sopradetto il medesimo.

Donna Costanza de Viuero, moglie che fu del Computatore Ferrante Ortiz, sorella del detto Dottor Cazaglia, habitatrice di Valladolid, reconciliata per Lutherana, con confiscation de beni, habito, & carcere perpetua irremissibile.

Donna Francesca de Zuniga monaca, figliuola del licentiato Antonio di Baezza, habitatrice di Valladolid, reconciliata per Lutherana, con confiscatione de beni, & habito, & carcere perpetua.

Donna Maria de Roias, figliuola del Marchese di Poza, monaca, nel monasterio di santa Catherina di Valladolid, reconciliata per Lutherana, con confiscatione de beni, & habito nel palco, & non piu.

Antonio Dominquez habitator de Pedrosa, reconciliato per Lutherano, con confiscatione de beni, habito, & carcere per tre anni.

Isabella Dominquez, fantesca di donna Beatrice di Viuero

nativa di Montimaggiore, reconciliata per Lutherana con confiscatione de beni, & habito, & carcere perpetua.

Daniel della Quadra habitator di Pedrosa, reconciliato per Lutherano, con confiscatione de beni, & habito, & carcere perpetua.

Antonio Basor Inglese, reconciliato per Lutherano, con confiscation de beni, & habito dal palco fin' al tornar alla casa del santo Officio, et non piu, & reclusione per un' anno in un monasterio, & casa di religione, dove sia instrutto nelle cose di nostra santa fe Catholica.

Marina di Saiiavedra, moglie di Cisneros de Soteglio, habitatrice di Zamorra, reconciliata per Lutherana, con confiscatione de beni, et habito, et carcere perpetua irremissibile.

Fornito* di leggere le sententie, quelli che s' havevano d' abbrusciare forno† dati in man della giustitia secolare, che li menò alla porta del campo fuora de Valladolid, dove furono morti et abbrusciati; et gli reconciliati tornarono alla prigione della Inquisitione, eccetto Don Luigi de Roias, Don Pietro Sarmento suo zio, et il Commendator Giovan de Ulloa Pereira, per star in miglior guardia, et piu sicuri, finche li sia assegnato dove han da star rinchiusi, li menarono alla prigione della Corte.

Et perche in un giorno non si poteva far l' atto con tutti li prigioni, che uscirono, restarono in la prigione della santo Officio, per esser molte, et longhe le sententie, per li molti errori di che stavano convinti.

Restarono nella prigione per un' altro atto le persone sottoscritti.

Fra Domenico di Roias.

Don Carlo de Seso habitatore dello Grugno.

Pietro de Cazaglia, prete curato de Pedrosa.

Pietro Soteglio, habitator di Aldea, il palo della diocesi di Zamorra.

Donna Marina de Guevara, monaca nel monasterio di Balen di Valladolid.

Donna Felippa di Heredia, monaca del detto Monasterio.

Donna Margherita di Santestefan, monaca di detto monasterio.

Donna Francesca de Zuniga, monaca del detto Monasterio.

* Finito. † furno, furono.

Donna Catherina de Reinoso, monaca del detto Monasterio.
Donna Catherina de Alcharaz, monaca del detto Monasterio.
Maria de Miranda, monaca del detto Monasterio.
Donna Teresa Doipa, habitatrice di Madrid.
Leonora de Toro, moglie de Francesco della Vega calzolaro, habitatrice di Zamorra.
Anna de Mendozza, zitella nativa di Toledo.
Catherina Bezerra vedoa, habitatrice de Pedrosa.
Antonio di Lara Sartore, habitator di Valladolid.
Donna Isabella de Castiglia, moglie di Don Carlo.
Donn' Anna Brezenno vedoa, habitatrice di Zamorra.
Donna Catherina di Castiglia zitella.
Il licentiato Diego Sanchez, prete della villa de Medina.
Donna Eufragina di Mendozza monaca.
Isabella de Pedrosa vedova, habitatrice de Pedrosa.
Francesco de Almarca, habitator de Almarca, diocesi de Soria.
Joannes Sances, habitator d' Astadillo.
Alfonso Lopez, prete della diocesi di Ciudad Rodrigo.
Alfonso Cozzon Moresco, habitator di Aranda de Duero.
Gaspar Blanco Moresco, habitator di Palentia.
Amator di Miranda Portogallese, di razza de Giudei.
Bernardo Lopez Portogallese della medesima razza.
Diego Perez Portogallese della medesima razza.
Gabriel Perez Portogallese della medesima razza.
Anna de Leon Portogallesa, della medesima razza.
Joanne de Avila orefice, habitator di Valladolid.
Joanne de Salorzano Montagnes.
Christoforo di Zamorra, habitator di Valladolid.
Antonio Goncalez, habitator di Salamanca.
Maddalena Fernandez habitatrice di Villaverde.

L' Atto dell' Inquisitione di Siviglia si celebrerà presto, che non aspettavano se non che si celebrasse prima questo atto di Valladolid.

Stampata in Bologna, con licentia de i superiori.

Page 247.—*The Reformation in France.*

Although I had access to the work before, yet having recently only obtained possession of the rare and invaluable history, of which in the main Beza, or de Beze, is undoubtedly the author,

Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformees au Royaume de France, &c., Anvers, 1580*; and having consequently better leisure to peruse it, its details are so minute and discriminative, that I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of laying before the reader some of the reflections which it most forcibly excited. It may be proper, however, to premise, that a considerable portion of the prior part of that history is evidently derived from an earlier, and interesting one, attributed to La Place, entitled Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et Republique soubs les Rois Henry, &c., 1565†.

The fortunes of the Reformation in France were peculiar. In Spain and Italy, it was instantly suppressed by the sweeping cruelties of the Inquisition. In England, it was twice, the last time permanently, taken under the patronage of the civil power; and, with some just apprehensions of a reverse, has continued in that state to the present time. In Germany, it was embraced and supported by several of the states of the empire. In France, this blessed revolution was neither suppressed, nor embraced, by the government, either entirely or in any definite part. It was never the religion of the state: it was only tolerated at best. Professed and supported indeed it was by a portion, but a scattered portion, of the population; and never attained ascendancy, or even assured settlement.

Perhaps in no nation, which the Reformation has visited with its light, has it suffered more cruelly, perseveringly, and triumphantly, than in France. It was the anvil, (as Beza observed to the apostate King of Navarre, and as the device in the title-page of his book represents,) which has worn out many a hammer. Its progress is distinctly and strongly marked. The seeds of it were sown chiefly by the diffusion of books; and the persecution which its appearance excited was in a particular and rigorous manner directed against the conveyers of books. This is a remarkable feature in the history. The *persons* individually, and

* Gerdesii Misc. Gron. iv, 702, and 691, where is a letter of Beza, apparently recognizing the work as his own. At p. 583, tome i, however, of that work, the writer of *that portion* speaks of having heard something from Beza. It is said that Nic. des Galars assisted.

† Meuselii Bib. Hist. vii, Par. ii, p. 227. See for his character and fate at the St. Bartholomew, Thuani Hist. lii, ix.

separately, of those who embraced the evangelic purification, were the first objects of the ferocious hostility of a profligate mob instigated by the more disciplined and deep-rooted antipathy of the Romish priesthood. Under this direction the persecution was most critical, unsparing, and extensive. In every town and province, the individuals were picked out and brought down as they appeared, or almost as they existed. And yet the converts from the surrounding darkness and corruption were on the increase. *Per damna, per cædes*, &c. A second stage in their history was the formation of *churches*, or organized societies in private houses, throughout the whole extent of their settlement. These were no less the object of attacks, which they survived. The third advance was, to *a union of the separate and scattered churches in one body*; and occasional synods were the result: they were held even in the capital. The reformed subsequently attracted the *notice of the higher orders of the nation* by the justice and merit of their cause; and in consequence obtained something like a political recognition and importance. But during the whole period they enjoyed nothing like worldly prosperity, nor were ever free from a vigilant and relentless persecution. One peculiar and striking article in their persecution, intended to operate against them as a brand of supreme infamy, has recoiled with double force upon the memory of their infatuated and infuriated persecutors, who had no leisure to reflect that they were basely as well as accurately copying their heathen prototypes in the accusations brought by them against the first Christians, and which *they*, professing Christians, in the sixteenth century repeated against the *real* Christians, then newly appearing among them—the charge of licentious and abominable excesses in their religious assemblies. Assemblies which, by *their* cruelty, as the ancient idolators by theirs, they compelled to be secret and nocturnal, they, on that very ground, accused of being scenes of deliberate impurity and even incest; and the men who perpetrated, or encouraged the perpetration of, these atrocious falsehoods, were the highest as well as the lowest of the nation, kings, cardinals, and prelates, as well as the rabble—the self-named true and only Catholic Church of Christ! The reformed were still persecuted, but not destroyed; and they gained consideration and strength sufficient to command an approach to the throne itself with *a formal exhi-*

bition of the articles of their calumniated faith. In process of time, in the year 1561, they were admitted by their representatives to a public audience at the colloquy of Poissy, and supported their cause before sovereigns and nobles with such triumph, that their enemies were compelled to wish *themselves* deaf or *the speakers* dumb *. When we thus trace the continued and unintermitted fiery trial which our Christian brethren of France, up to this period, were called to endure, and did so victoriously endure; and when we carry our view onward from that period, and reflect upon the dark horrors—of the St. Bartholomew, of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and even of the years of 1815 and 1816 †, under our very eyes in the south, we are bound

* This, at least, the cardinal of Lorraine said for himself; and the feeling was doubtless common.

† For most satisfactory and unexceptionable evidence on the subject of this persecution, I refer with pleasure to the Eclaircissemens Historiques en réponse aux calomnies dont les Protestans du Gand sont l'objet; et Précis des Agitations, &c. Par P. J. Lanze de Peret, Avocat à la Cour Royale de Nimes, 1818, 1819. The performance is elaborate, and scrupulously exact. The author is one of the very few members of the Roman persuasion, to whom the praise of true liberality, or rather justice, is due, and cheerfully awarded. He has indeed been rather severe in a note at the end of his work on the Rev. Clement Perrot for alleged exaggerations: but his own laboriously authenticated statements fall very little below the atrocities detailed by the Protestant minister. Our own countryman, the Rev. Mark Wilks, has adduced the testimony of the deserving French advocate with just respect. It is some drawback upon the pleasure which we feel on recollecting the zeal displayed on the subject at the time, particularly in our Parliament, that the motive was so evidently traceable to a party spirit and party feelings, that, had not such a spirit and such feelings looked for their gratification in stirring and urging the subject, it is a reasonable question, whether even the most indignant declaimers against papal persecution would not have remained perfectly indifferent and silent; if, indeed, they did not explode it as a mark of illiberality to interfere, even by censure or remonstrance, with the unalienable and imprescriptible right of Catholics to chastise Protestants in any way which they might think proper. The government of this country, at the time, were indeed deeply blameable for allowing themselves, on the representations of the persecuting party, to represent the persecution as originating simply in political recollections and feelings. M. Peret has distinctly proved that the persecution was a religious persecution—that the Protestants were persecuted by the self-called Catholics, as Protestants, and for their religion as Protestant. And the

to honour the memory of such saints, as forming an eminently illustrious portion of "the noble army of martyrs."

A treacherous regret has sometimes been expressed, that these sufferers, when they obtained sufficient power, were tempted to resist their persecutors by force, and eventually plunge the nation in a long and sanguinary civil war; and expediency has been called in aid of the insinuation, by the question, what did they gain by such conduct? They gained *this*, that for generations Christianity was not extinguished in France, but, on the contrary, continued for the time to create human souls to holiness and salvation. Look at Italy and Spain: what has non-resistance, whether necessary or not, done in those countries? At any rate, no one who knows what justice is, will hastily or strongly, if at all, condemn those of the religion in France who having well proved for nearly half a century how they could endure persecution without resistance, were at length driven to take up arms for the dearest rights, not of themselves alone, but of others, and in order to defend even their civil rights against the illegal and barbarous encroachments of a powerful faction.

The view which Mr. Smedley has given of the events alluded to, masterly as it is, yet from his limits necessarily *compendious*, is much assisted in its effect by recurring to the *detail* of his principal original.

Page 312.—*Bula Cruzada.*

The Summary of the Bula Cruzada, of which it is thought an entire copy would be acceptable to the reader, is perhaps without a duplicate in this country. It is a broadside of eighteen inches by twelve. It purports to be granted to the king of Spain by Leo XII in the year 1828; and is, therefore, no antiquated and obsolete document. It was sent to me, by the means of a friend, under cover by post. It is well known that the compulsory purchase of these Indulgences, when circulated, is an important part of the royal revenue in Spain, and that the original donor has a competent share of the proceeds. There is a professed and able

representation above mentioned was, in the first authors, the more base, in proportion as, with a perfect conviction of its falsehood, it might be made plausible.

tract of Dr. Michael Geddes on the subject in his Tracts against Popery, pp. 157, and following. Labat, likewise, in his Voyages en Espagne, at the end of tome i, has given a copy of one of these productions, by Urban VIII, for the benefit of New Spain and the Philippine Islands, together with a translation into French. There is a more uncommon work in Spanish, Explicacion de la Bulla de la S. Cruzada, por el padre fray Manuel Rodriguez Lusitano, en Caragoça, 1592, which contains a specimen of the Summary. In substance, the two just mentioned, and the one now given, agree; but there is some variation in the form and contents. *That*, particularly, which appears in Labat, contains a passage prudently omitted in the last. It occurs in that part where the choice of a confessor is indulged to the worthy purchaser, especially if he double his purchase. Such, his holiness concedes, may be *absueltos de todos y qualesquiera pecados, crimenes, y excessos, por mas graves que sean*, &c. Such language is not rare in papal grants of this description. To go no earlier, in the year of the last Jubilee but one, 1775, Pius VI, with the ordinary indulgences, grants to confessors thus chosen, the power of absolving a quibusvis peccatis, criminibus, et delictis, quantumcunque gravibus, et enormibus, etiam, &c. The same in the Extension of the Jubilee the year after, the word *excessibus* being added after peccatis. The reader may, perhaps, be most struck upon running his eye over this extraordinary, but not very sightly, document, of the *List of days on which souls may be drawn out of Purgatory*. As if the very notion of that fiction, particularly as held and taught in the modern church of Rome, were not sufficiently gross and revolting, but that the impious fatuity must be added of the power of the living in such a way to liberate the captives in the pope's dungeon, as that certain days should be privileged to be available ones for that purpose, in preference to all others. It is impossible to burlesque the subject: horror and pity alone shelter it from the most scornful ridicule.

MDCCCXXVIII.

Para el Principado de Cataluna.

SUMARIO de las Facultades, Indulgencias y Gracias que Nuestro Smo. Padre Leon Doce, se ha dignado conceder por la Bula de la Sta. Cruzada al Rey Nuestro Señor, y á todos los fieles que estando en los Reinos de España y demas dominios sujetos á S. M. C. ó veniendo á ellos, le ayudaren y sirvieren en la guerra contra infieles, expedito para el año de mil ochocientos veinte y ocho.

Entre las Naciones favorecidas del Cielo y llamadas por la Providencia Divina al Gremio de la Iglesia, ninguna mas privilegiada que la Nacion Española, escogida muy particularmente para la propagacion y defensa di Ntra. Sta. Fé Católica, habiendo llevada el Estandarte de la Cruz á los Paises mas remotos del Orbe, y haciéndole triunfar inumerables veces de los enemigos del nombre Cristiano. Para alentarla, pues, en tan gloriosa empresa la franquearon los Romanos Pontifices con una liberalidad impon-

MDCCCXXVIII.

For the Principality of Catalonia.

SUMMARY of the Faculties, Indulgences, and Grants which Our Most Holy Father Leo the Twelfth has deigned to grant for the Bull of the Holy Cruzada to Our Lord the King and to all the faithful residing in the kingdoms of Spain, and the other dominions, subject to his Catholic Majesty, or coming into them, who shall assist and serve him in the war against the infidels, drawn up in form for the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight.

Among the Nations favoured by Heaven, and called by the Divine Providence to the Bosom of the Church, none is more privileged than the Spanish Nation, more especially selected for the propagation and defence of Our Holy Catholic Faith, having carried the Standard of the Cross to the most remote countries of the world, and having caused it to triumph innumerable times over the enemies of the Christian name. For its encouragement, therefore, in so glorious an undertaking, the Roman Pontiffs, with an

derable los Privilegios, Indulgencias y Gracias contenidas en la Bula de la Sta. Cruzada, que confirmó y prorogó N. SS. P. Leon XII, por su Breve expedito en Roma á veinte y siete de Julio de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro, cuya execucion nos está cometida. Y por tanto Nos Don Manuel Fernandez Verela, Arcediano de Madrid, Dignidad de la Sta. Iglesia Metropolitana de Toledo primada de las Españas, Caballero de la Real y Distinguida Orden Española de Cárlos III, individuo Nato de la Real Junta de la Inmaculada Concepcion, y Juez Colector de las pensiones consignadas á la misma Orden, de la Real Academia de la Historia, de la de las Nobles Artes de San Fernando de Madrid, de la de San Cárlos de Valencia, y de varias otras Sociedades literarias, económicas y de beneficencia del Reino, Juez privativo del Nuevo Rezado, Individuo y Presidente de la Comision Apostólica para el nuevo subsidio, y del Tribunal Apostólico y Real de la Gracia del Escusado, del Consejo

inestimable liberality, have vouchsafed the Privileges, Indulgences, and Grants contained in the Bull of the Holy Cruzada, which Our Most Holy Father Leo XII has confirmed and continued by his Breve drawn up in Rome the twenty-sixth of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, the execution of which is committed to us. And therefore We Don Manuel Fernandez Verela, Archdeacon of Madrid, Dignitary of the Holy Metropolitan Church of Toledo, primary see of Spain, Knight of the Royal and Distinguished Spanish Order of Charles III, member by birth of the Royal Company of the Immaculate Conception, and Judicial Collector of the pensions assigned to the same Order, of the Royal Academy of History, of that of the Noble Arts of St. Fernando of Madrid, and of St. Carlos de Valencia, and of various other Societies, literary, economical, and for the benefit of the kingdom, special Judge of the New Rezado*, Member and President of the Apostolic

* Devotional office.

de S. M. su Predicador, y Comisario Apostólico general de la Sta. Cruzada y demas Gracias en todos los Dominios de S. M. C. con el fin de hacerlas conocer á los fieles, y que pueden aprovecharse de tan precioso tesoro, las reducimos á Sumario en la forma siguiente.

Primeramente al Rey Ntro Señor, que con continuo cuidado y diligencia vela sobre la expedicion contra los Infieles, y a todos los fieles cristianos estantes en estos Reinos y Dominios, ò que vinieren á ellos que dentro del año contado desde el dia de la publicacion de esta Bula en cada uno de sus lugares, fueren á su costa movidos del zelo de la fé á pelear contra los infieles en el ejercito de S. M. Católica, ò hacer en el graciosamente otro genero de servicio permaneciendo hasta el fin de la expedicion del mismo año, ò muriendo antes de acabarse ò en camino para ella, ò retirándose del ejercito por enfermedad u otra necesidad verdadera, les concede su Santidad la misma

Commission for the new subsidy, and of the Apostolic and Royal Tribunal of the grant of the clerical subsidy, of His Majesty's council, his Preacher and General Commissary Apostolic of the Holy Cruzada and the other grants in all the Dominions of his Catholic Majesty, for the purpose of making them known to the faithful; and that they may provide themselves with so precious a treasure, we reduce them to a summary in the following form.

Firstly, to the king Our Lord, who with continual care and diligence watches over the expedition against the Infidels, and to all the faithful Christians residing in these kingdoms and dominions, or coming to them, who within one year reckoned from the day of the publication of this Bull, in each of the appointed places, shall be moved by zeal for the faith to fight at their own cost against the Infidels in the army of his Catholic Majesty, or perform in it any other service lasting to the end of the expedition of the same year, or dying before it is finished, or being on the way towards it, or quitting the army through sickness or any other real necessity — his holiness

indulgencia plenaria que se ha acostumbrado conceder á los que van á la conquista de la tierra Santa y en el año del Jubileo, si contritos de sus pecados, los confesaren de boca o no pudiendo confesarlos, lo desearen de veras. Y del mismo modo, á los que enviaren á otras personas á su costa al mismo ejercito, siendo en el numero que segun la calidad de cada uno se señala por la referida Bula, como tambien, á los enviados, si fueren pobres. Y á los soldados ocupados en dicha guerra los escusa su Santidad de los ayunos votivos o de la Iglesia, y declara que en dia festivo puedan ocuparse en los negocios de la guerra.

Item, á los arriba dichos y á los demas fieles que no yendo ni enviando soldados á la dicha expedicion, liberalmente contribuyeren á ella de sus bienes con la limosna que abajo se dirá; les concede su Santidad que aun en tiempo de entredicho (como no hayan dado causa á el ni estado de su parte que no se levante) y teniendo faculdad para ello del Comisario general aunque sea una hora antes de amanacer y otra despues de medio dia pueden dentro del mismo año celebrar, si fueren Presbiteros, o hacer celebrar misas y los otros Divinos oficios

grants the same plenary indulgence which is customary to those who go to the conquest of the Holy land, and in the year of Jubilee, provided they be contrite for their sins, actually confess them, or, not being able to confess, truly desire to do so. And likewise, to those who send other persons at their cost to the same army, to the number of such as are required by the Bull according to the quality of each, and to that of the persons sent, if they are poor. And to the soldiers engaged in the same war, his holiness excuses both votive fasts, and those of the Church, and declares that they may be occupied in the business of war on festivals.

Likewise, to the aforesaid, and to the other faithful, not being, or not sending, soldiers to the said expedition, who shall contribute liberally to it of their goods at the rate of the alms, as below specified, his Holiness grants, that, even in the time of an interdict, (if they have not given the cause for it, or been the impediment to its removal,) and having a faculty for the purpose from the Commissary-general, although an hour before day-break, or after mid-day, they may, if Priests, in the same year celebrate, or cause to celebrate, masses and

en su presencia y la de sus familares domésticos y parientes y recibir la Eucaristia y demas Sacramentos (salvo en el dia de la Pascua) tanto en las Iglesias donde por otra parte [es] permitida de cualquier modo la celebracion de los oficios Divinos durante el entredicho, como en Oratorio particular deputado solamente para el culto Divino, y que haya de ser visitado y señalada por el Ordinario, y que puedan asistir á los Divinos oficios en tiempo del entredicho, siendo de su cargo siempre que usaren de el para lo sobredicho rogar á Dios por la union y victoria de los Principes cristianos contra los infieles. Y tambien se les concede que puedan ser sepultados sus cuerpos en el expresado tiempo de entredicho con moderada pompa funeral como no hayan muerto escomulgados.

Item, que durante el dicho año de la publicacion y estando en los expresados Reinos y Dominios (pero no fuera de ellos) puedan comer carnes de consejo de ambos medicos, espiritual y corporal en los tiempos de ayuno de todo el año; aunque sean los de Cuaresma, y en los mismos por su arbitrio huevos y lacticinios; de manera que se entienda satisfacer al ayuna los que comieren carne

other Divine offices in their presence, and that of their domestics and kindred, and receive the Eucharist, and other Sacraments, (except on Easter day,) as well in the Churches, where at other times the celebration of the Divine offices during the interdict is in anywise permitted, as in a private Oratory exclusively dedicated to divine worship, and which has been visited and appointed by the Ordinary, and that they may assist in Divine offices in the time of the interdict, it being ever their duty to use it for the fore-mentioned purpose of praying to God for the union and victory of the Christian Princes against the infidels. And likewise he grants, that their bodies may be buried in the said time of the interdict with moderate funeral pomp, if they have not died excommunicated.

Likewise, that during the said year of publication, and being in the aforesaid kingdoms and dominions, (not out of them,) they may eat flesh with the approbation of their physicians, both spiritual and temporal, in the fasts of the whole year, even that of Lent, and in the same, eggs and preparations of milk at their pleasure: so that it is understood, that those who eat flesh fulfil the obligation of the

como en lo demas guarden la forma de el. En cuyo Indulto se comprenden los Religiosos de cualquier Orden militar, pero se exceptuan de el, los Patriarcas, Arzobispos, Obispos, y Prelados inferiores, las Personas Eclesiásticas Regulares, y los Presbiteros Seculares, sino os que sean de edad de sesenta años; aunque fuera del tiempo de Cuaresma podrán usar todos ellos del mismo indulto en cuanto á comer huevos y lacticinios.

Item, a los dichos contribuyentes de la limosna que para suplecar el Divino auxilio por la union y victoria de los Principes cristianos contra los infieles, ayunaren voluntariamente en los dias no sujetos al ayuna o estando legitamente impedidos de ayunar hiciaren otra obra piedosa al arbitrio de su Confesor o Párroco, y juntamente oraren a Dios por la union y victoria sobredichas, cuantas veces lo hicieren tantas se les relajan misericordiosamente en el Señor quince años y quince cuarentenas de las penitencias á ellos impuestas y de cualquier modo debidas; y ademas se les hace participantes de todas las oraciones, limosnas, peregrinaciones (aun las de Jerusalen) y de las otras buenas

fast, provided they observe the form of it. In this indulgence are comprehended the religious of every military order: nevertheless [the following] are excepted from it: — Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and inferior Prelates, regular Ecclesiastics, and Secular Priests, except they be sixty years of age: although out of the time of Lent all those may use all the indulgences, so far as concerns eggs and preparations of milk.

Likewise, to the said contributors of alms, who for the purpose of supplicating the Divine assistance for the union and victory of Christian Princes against the infidels, fast voluntarily on days not appointed for fasting, or being lawfully prevented from fasting, perform some other pious work by the injunction of their Confessor or Parish priest, and at the same time pray to God for the union and victory above-mentioned, as often as they do so, so often are there remitted to them by the mercy of the Lord, fifteen years and fifteen quarantenes of penance imposed upon them, and by any means due; and they are further made partakers of all the prayers, alms, pilgrimages, (even those to Jeru-

obras que se hacen en toda la Iglesia militante y en cada uno de sus miembros.

Item, los que devotamente visitaren cada uno de los dias de las Estaciones de Roma, cinco Iglesias ó altares o en defecto de ellos cinco veces un altar, y rogaren á Dios por la union y victoria de los Principes cristianos contra los infieles, conseguirán una indulgencia plenaria, tanto para si, como por modo de sufragio para los difuntos, en cuyo favor hicieren dicha visita y oracion.

Item, para que todos y cada uno de los sobredichos con mas pureza puedan rogar á Dios y mas eficazmente implorar su Divino auxilio, se les concede que puedan eligir Confesor secular ó regular de los aprobados por el Ordinario, y obtener de el plenaria indulgencia y remision de cualesquiera pecados y censuras, aun de los reservados y reservadas á la Silla Apostólica (excepto el crimen de la heregia) una vez en la vida y otra en el articulo de la muerte; pero de los otros pecados y censuras no reservados y no reservadas á la Silla Apostólica puedan obtener la absolucion y remision tantas cuantes veces los confesaren, imponiendoles,

salem,) and of all the other good works which are performed in the whole militant Church, and by any of its members.

Likewise, those who shall devoutly visit, on each of the days of the Stations of Rome, five churches or altars, or in defect of them five times one altar, and shall pray to God for the union and victory of the Christian Princes against the infidels, shall obtain one plenary indulgence, as well for themselves, as by way of suffrage for the departed, in whose favour they make the same visit and prayer.

Likewise, in order that all and each of the aforesaid persons may pray to God with more purity, and implore his Divine assistance more efficaciously, they are allowed to choose a Confessor, secular or regular, of such as are approved by the Ordinary, and obtain from him plenary indulgence and remission of whatsoever sins and censures, even those reserved to the Apostolic Chair, (except the crime of heresy,) once in their life and again in the article of death; and of other sins and censures, not so reserved, they may obtain the absolution and remission as often as they confess them [the Confessor] imposing upon them

penitencia saludable segun lo pidan las culpas, y con tal que si fuere necesaria satisfaccion, la den por si mismos ò por sus herederos u otros en caso de impedimento; y tambien puedan serles conmutados por el mismo Confesor en algun socorro para dicha expedicion todos los votos excepto el Ultramarino, el de Castidad y el de Religion.

Item, si acaeciere durante el dicho año morir sin confesion por ser repentina la muerte o por falta de confesores, conseguirán la misma indulgencia plenaria que queda dicha como hayan muerto contritos, y antes se huviesen confesado al tiempo determinado por la Iglesia, y no sido mas negligentes en hacerlo por la confianza de esta concesion.

Y se declara que en cada un año se puedan tomar dos Sumarios de dicha Bula, y asi gozarse dos veces dentro de el todas las indulgencias, gracias y privilegios qui arriba se expresan.

Y á Nos el dicho Comisario Apostólico general concede su Santidad que podamos dispensar y componer sobre cualquiera irregularidad, como no sea contraida por razon de homicidio voluntario

salutary penance as their faults require, and on condition that if satisfaction should be necessary they make it, either in their own person, or by their heirs or others, in case of impediment; and all vows, excepting those of pilgrimage beyond sea, of Chastity and of Religion, may be commuted by the same Confessor into some assistance to the said expedition.

Likewise, if it shall happen during the said year, that such persons should, on account of the suddenness of their death, or the want of Confessors, die without confession, they shall obtain the same plenary indulgence, provided they should die contrite, and had before confessed at the time appointed by the Church, and had not been more negligent in so doing through reliance on the present concession.

And it is declared, that in each year two summaries of the said Bull may be taken, and thus within that year a double number be enjoyed of all the aforesaid indulgences, grants, and privileges.

And to Us the said Commissary Apostolic general his Holiness grants, that we may dispense and compound for any irregularity, provided it be not contracted by reason of voluntary homicide,

tario, simonia, apostasia de la fé, heregia o mala suscepcion de las ordenes; y asimismo con los que hubieren contraido matrimonio con impedimento oculto de afinidad, proveniente de copula ilicita, como el uno de los contrayentes lo ignorase al tiempo de contraer para che puedan celebrarlo de nuevo entre si aunque sea secretamente en cuanto al fuero de la conciencia, y tambien para que puedan pedir el debito quienes despues de celebrado matrimonio hayan contraido semejante impedimento.

simony, apostasy from the faith, heresy, or unlawful assumption of orders; and likewise in behalf of those who have contracted marriage with the unknown impediment of affinity, proceeding from illicit commerce; if one of the contracting parties were ignorant of it at the time of contracting, that they may celebrate the marriage afresh, although secretly, as to the obligation of conscience, and also, that all who after the celebration have contracted similar impediment may require their due.

¶ Y por cuanto ademas de otras facultades nos concede su Santidad la de que podamos suspender durante el año de la publicacion de esta Bula, todas las indulgencias y gracias semejantes ó desemejantes concedidas por su autoridad apostólica á cualesquiera Iglesias, Monasterios, Hospitales, Lugares piadosos, Universidades, Cofradias, y personas particulares en los dichos Reinos y Dominios, aunque sean en favor de la fabrica de la Capilla de San Pedro de Roma, o de otra semejante Cruzada, y contengan algunas clausulas que hagan contra la suspension, excepto las concedidas a los superiores de las Ordenes men-

¶ And therefore, besides other faculties, his holiness grants, that during the year of the publication of this Bull, we may suspend all similar or dissimilar indulgences and grants conceded by his apostolic authority to whatsoever Churches, Monasteries, Hospitals, pious Places, Universities, Confraternities, and private persons in the said kingdoms and dominions, although they be for building St. Peter's in Rome, or other similar Cruzada, and contain certain clauses against the suspension, except those granted to the superiors of the Mendicant Orders with respect to their friars, solely with the understanding that we

dicantes en cuanto á sus frailes tan solamente, como tambien que podamos revalidar en favor de los que participaren de las indulgencias y gracias de esta Bula, las que hayamos suspendido.

may ratify the suspended indulgences in favour of those who partake of the indulgences and grants of the present Bull.

Desde luego, usando de dicha autoridad apostolica, suspendemos durante el año de la publicacion de esta Bula todas las referidas indulgencias y gracias que como se ha dicho tenemos potestad de suspender; por manera que no puedan publicarse, predicarse ni aprovechar a persona alguna en comun ni en particular, sino es que tome y tenga esta dicha Bula, en cuyo favor tan solamente las revalidamos para que pueda gozarlas quien la tubiere; pero con tal, que ni al tiempo de publicarlas o hacer las saber á los fieles o repartir los . . . ios de ellas, ni antes ni despues con su ocasion o pretesto se pida limosna en modo alguno para las Iglesias, Santuarios, Hospitales, Comunidades, Congregaciones, u los Lugares piadosos, á cuya instancia se hayan concedido; porque si se pidiere no es nuestra voluntad hacer la expresada revalidacion; antes bien queremos que la suspension referida quede en su fuerza, para que ni aun los que tengan la Bula de la Santa Cruzada pue-

Using, therefore, immediately the said apostolic authority during the year of the publication of this Bull, we suspend all the fore-mentioned indulgences and grants, which, as we have said, we have power to suspend; to the effect, that no person, public or private, can publish, proclaim, or avail himself of them, except he procure and possess this said Bull, in whose favour alone we renew them; so that he who takes the one may enjoy the other: upon condition, however, that neither at the time of publishing them, or when they are made known or distributed, to the faithful, and neither before nor after, on occasion or pretence thereof, shall any alms whatever be solicited for Churches, Sanctuaries, Hospitals, Communities, Congregations, or pious Places, at whose instance they were granted; therefore, if such alms be solicited, it is our will that no renewal take place, but on the contrary we require that the fore-mentioned suspension continue in force, so that not even

dan gañar las indulgencias que del modo dicho se publicaren, divulgaren, o distribuyeren.

Otrosi, en virtud de la misma autoridad apostolica que tambien nos esta concedida, suspendemos el entredicho si le huviere en cualquier lugar donde se hiciere la publicacion y predicacion de esta dicha Bula por ocho dias antes y otros ocho despues. Y declaramos que los que quieran gozar de sus indulgencias y gracias han de tomar y retener esta Sumario de ella, impreso, sellado y firmado de nuestro sello y nombre, para que no puedan errar acerca de las gracias que les son concedidas ni otros usurparselas, y que cada uno pueda mostrar con que facultad usa de ellas.

Y por cuanto vos

contribuisteis con la limosna de siete sueldos y tres dineros de ardites; moneda Catalana; que es la que en virtud de Autoridad Apostolica hemos tasada, y recibisteis este Sumario (que habeis de guardar escrito en el vuestro nombre) declaramos que se os concede, y podeis usar y gozar de todas las referidas indulgencias, facu-

those who possess the Bull of the Holy Cruzada may be able to gain the indulgences which, in the manner referred to, are published or distributed.

Further, in virtue of the same apostolic authority, which is likewise granted to us, for eight days before and after the publication and proclamation of this Bull, we suspend any interdict under which any place may lie. And we declare that those who may enjoy its indulgences and grants must obtain and keep this Summary of it printed, sealed, and subscribed with our seal and name, so that they may not be subject to error respecting the grants which are made, nor have them fraudulently made use of by others, and that each person may be able to show by what faculty he uses them.

And since you

have contributed an alms of seven *sueldos* and three *dineros de ardites**, money of Catalonia, which is what in virtue of Apostolic authority we have charged, and you have received this Summary, (which you must keep subscribed with your own name,) we declare that there are granted to you,

* An Arragonese sueldo is equal to half a Rial of plate. An Ardite is three maravedis.

tades y gracias, en la forma sobredicha. Dado en Madrid á dos de Enero de mil ochocientos veinte y siete.

and you may use and enjoy, all the fore-mentioned indulgences, faculties, and grants in the form given above. Dated Madrid, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven.

¶ Sumario de los dias de las Estationes de Roma, en las cuales por concesion de su Santidad ganan indulgencia plenaria los que habieren tomado esta Bula, visitaren devotamente cinco iglesias o altares, o en defecto de ellos uno cinco veces, rogando a Dios por la union y victoria de los principes cristianos contra á los infieles; y asimismo de los dias en que haciendo la misma visita se saca anima de purgatorio en virtud de igual indulgencia plenaria.

¶ Summary of the days of the Stations in Rome, in which, by the favour of his holiness, a plenary indulgence may be gained by those who shall have taken this Bull, visited devoutly the five churches or altars, or, in defect of them, one altar seven times, praying to God for the union and victory of the Christian princes against the infidels; and likewise of the days on which, making the same visit, a soul is extracted from purgatory in virtue of the same plenary indulgence.

DIAS EN QUE SE PUEDE GANAR INDULGENCIA PLENARIA.

En cada una de las cuatro Dominicas de adviento.

El miercoles, viernes y sabado de las cuatro temporas del año.

En los tres dias de las Rogaciones de Mayo.

En la vigilia y dia de la Nativ. del Señor y en cada una de sus tres mis^{as}.

En los dias de S. Estevan, S. Juan Evangelista y los Stos. Inocentes.

DAYS ON WHICH MAY BE GAINED A PLENARY INDULGENCE.

On each of the four Sundays in advent.

Wednesday, friday, and saturday of the four Ember weeks.

On the three Rogation days in May.

On the eve of the Nativity of our Lord, and on each of his three miseries.

On the days of St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, and the Holy Innocents.

El dia de la Circuncision del Señor, y en el de la Epifania.

En las dominicas de Septuagesima, Sexagesima y Quincuagesima.

En todas los dias de Cuaresma.

En los ocho primeros dias desde Pascua de Resurreccion.

En la fiesta de S. Marcos.

En el dia de la Ascension del Señor.

En la vigilia y dia de Pentecostes.

En los seis dias siguentes al de Pentecostes.

Los tres dias de vigilia de las temporas de Setiembre.

DIAS EN QUE SE PUEDE SACAR ANIMA DE PURGATORIO.

✝ La Dominica de Septuagesima.

✝ El martes, despues de la Dominica primera de Cuaresma.

✝ El sabado, despues de la Dominica secunda de Cuaresma.

✝ Las Dominicas tercera y cuarta de Cuaresma.

✝ El viernes y subado, despues de la Dominica quinta de ella.

✝ El miercoles de la octava de Pascua de Resurreccion.

✝ El jueves y subado de la octava de Pentecostes.

Dⁿ. Manuel Fernᶻ. Varela.

On the day of the Circumcision of our Lord, and on that of Epiphany.

On Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sundays.

On all the days of Lent.

On the first eight days after Easter.

On the festival of St. Mark.

On the day of our Lord's Ascension.

On the vigil of the day of Pentecost.

On the six days following Pentecost.

The three days of the vigil of the Ember week in September.

DAYS ON WHICH A SOUL MAY BE LIBERATED FROM PURGATORY.

✝ Septuagesima Sunday.

✝ Tuesday after the first Sunday in Lent.

✝ Saturday after the second Sunday in Lent.

✝ The third and fourth Sundays in Lent.

✝ The friday and saturday after the fifth Sunday in Lent.

✝ The wednesday in Easter week.

✝ The thursday and saturday in Whitsun week.

Dⁿ. Manuel Fernᶻ. Varela.

[a rude facsimile of the autograph.]

On each side of the name is a kind of cross marked with a pen. In a square space in the upper left hand corner are figures of St. Peter and St. Paul in the usual papal fashion, with the figure 4 above: in the space of the opposite corner are Leo XIIth's arms. In that of the left hand lower corner is a figure of a cross in a circle. Opposite are the arms of Don Manuel. The signature in the vacant place, although attempted to be obliterated, is *Jusepha Casanes.*

Page 313.—*Confirmation of the Council by the Pope.*

There is a passage in La Vie de Saint Charles Borromee, &c., Par. Ant. Godeau, Evesque de Vence, Paris, 1657, which admirably illustrates the state of feeling on this subject on all sides, and particularly the reason of the hesitation with which the proposal was received; and it perfectly establishes the representation given by Fra Paolo. The confirmation was given by the pope; and a short account appears of the consistory in which it was given on the 26th of January, 1564, together with the oration of his holiness on the occasion, and his bull to the same purpose, on the same day, in Le Plat's Collection and his edition of the Canons, &c., and partly in the common editions. The reader will not need to be informed who Cardinal Borromeo was. The words of his biographer, at pp. 110, 111, (writing of the Council,) are:—

'Saint Charles, qui avoit tant travaillé pour le faire conclurre, 'jugea fort bien que si le Pape ne le confirmoit, ou le confirmoit 'avec quelques exceptions, on alloit retomber dans les premieres 'confusions dont on estoit si heureusement sorty, et que ce seroit 'donner la victoire aux Heretiques, et aux Princes l'occasion 'd'assembler des Synodes Nationaux pour mettre ordre à la Dis-'cipline Ecclesiastique dans leurs Estats. Ces considerations 'furent si fortes, qu'enfin Pie au Consistoire qu'il tint le vingt-'sixiesme de Janvier, confirma absolument le Concile celebré à 'Trente, et en expédia une Bulle qui fut signée de tous les Car-'dinaux, et publiée dans l'Italie.'

Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI.

There will be a propriety in ending, as we began, with the present reigning Supreme Pontiff of Rome. In the beginning he

was the object of address: here he is the Speaker. And he speaks as the oracle of his own world of subjects, ex cathedra, and for the first, and latest, time, with so solemn a voice.

I am indebted to the kindness of much-valued friends for the possession of a copy of the original edition of the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI., obtained with difficulty from Rome itself; and the contents, although known in this country in a less authentic shape before, will demonstrate, in what form and degree the doctrine, defined and established by the last, (and likely ever to be the last,) General Council of the Roman Church, is at this day professed, published, and inculcated by the Supreme Head and Organ of its Faith; and how far the indulgent but not eminently sagacious opinion is well founded, that the Faith of Romanists is changed or improved—an opinion, against which not only the whole Papal hierarchy and clergy, but Francis Plowden, and Charles Butler, Esqrs., reclaim.

English translations of this document are extant in the Laity's Directory—in the [Roman] Catholic Magazine—in the Protestant Journal, and separately with some notes, all for the year 1833; as well as in a pamphlet by itself with the original, and with extended and very valuable notes, in Dublin, 1833. I am not able to say, whether an address, clothed with such authority to the Roman Catholic world, has obtained the respect of being published in Ireland, accompanied with the Pastoral Instructions of its Papal Prelates.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI, GREGORII, DIVINA PROVIDENTIA, PAPÆ XVI. EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA, AD OMNES PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS, ET EPISCOPOS.

Romæ mdcccxxxii. Ex Typographia Rev. Cameræ Apostolicæ.

Venerabiles Fratres,

Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Mirari vos arbitramur, quod ab imposita Nostræ humilitati Ecclesiæ universæ procuratione, nondum Literas ad vos dederimus, prout et consuetudo vel a primis temporibus invecta, et benevo-

lentia in vos Nostra postulasset. Erat id quidem Nobis maxime in votis, ut dilateremus illico super vos cor Nostrum, atque in communicatione spiritus ea vos adloqueremur voce, qua, confirmare Fratres in persona Beati Petri jussi fuimus *. Verum probe nostis, quanam malorum ærumnarumque procella primis Pontificatus Nostri momentis in eam subito altitudinem maris acti fuerimus, in qua nisi dextera Dei fecisset virtutem, ex teterrima impiorum conspiratione Nos congemuissetis demersos. Refugit animus tristissima tot discriminum recensione susceptum inde moerorem refricare; Patrique potius omnis consolationis benedicimus, qui, disjectis perduellibus, præsenti Nos eripuit periculo, atque, turbulentissima sedata tempestate, dedit a metu respirare. Proposuimus illico vobiscum communicare consilia ad sanandas contritiones Israel; sed ingens curarum moles, quibus in concilianda publici ordinis restitutione obruti fuimus, moram tunc Nostræ huic objecit voluntati.

Nova interim accessit causa silentii ob factiosorum insolentiam qui signa perduellionis iterum attollere conati sunt. Nos quidem tantam hominum pervicaciam, quorum effrenatus furor impunitate diuturna, impensæque Nostræ benignitatis indulgentia non deliniri, sed ali potius conspiciebatur, debuimus tandem, ingenti licet cum moerore, ex collata Nobis divinitus auctoritate, virga compescere †; ex quo, prout jam probe conjicere potestis, operosior in dies instantia nostra quotidiana facta est.

Ast cum, quod ipsum iisdem ex causis distuleramus, jam possessionem Pontificatus in Lateranensi Basilica ex more institutoque majorum adiverimus, omni demum abjecta cunctatione, ad vos properamus, Venerabiles Fratres, testemque Nostræ erga vos voluntatis epistolam damus lætissimo hoc die, quo de Virginis Sanctissimæ in Cœlum Assumptæ triumpho sollemnia festa peragimus, ut quam Patronam ac Sospitam inter maximas quasque calamitates persensimus, Ipsa et scribentibus ad vos Nobis adstet propitia, mentemque Nostram cœlesti afflatu suo in ea inducat consilia, quæ Christiano Gregi futura sint quam maxime salutaria.

Moerentes quidem, animoque tristitia confecto venimus ad vos, quos pro vestro in Religionem studio, ex tanta, in qua ipsa versatur, temporum acerbitate, maxime anxios novimus. Vere enim dixerimus, horam nunc esse potestatis tenebrarum ad cribandos, sicut

* Luc. 22. 32. † 1 Corinth. 4. 21.

triticum, filios electionis *. Vere *luxit, et defluxit terra..... infecta ab habitatoribus suis, quia transgressi sunt leges, mutaverunt jus, dissipaverunt foedus sempiternum* †.

Loquimur, Venerabiles Fratres, quæ vestris ipsi oculis conspicitis, quæ communibus idcirco lacrymis ingemiscimus. Alacris exultat improbitas, scientia impudens, dissoluta licentia. Despicitur sanctitas sacrorum, et quæ magnam vim, magnamque necessitatem possidet, divini cultus majestas ab hominibus nequam improbatur, polluitur, habetur ludibrio. Sana hinc pervertitur doctrina, erroresque omnis generis disseminantur audacter. Non leges sacrorum, non jura, non instituta, non sanctiores quælibet disciplinæ tutæ sunt ab audacia loquentium iniqua. Vexatur acerrime Romana hæc Nostra Beatissimi Petri Sedes, in qua posuit Christus Ecclesiæ firmamentum; et vincula unitatis in dies magis labefactantur, abrumpuntur. Divina Ecclesiæ auctoritas oppugnatur, ipsiusque juribus convulsis, substernitur ipsa terrenis rationibus, ac per summam injuriam odio populorum subjicitur, in turpem redacta servitutem. Debita Episcopis obedientia infringitur, eorumque jura conculcantur. Personant horrendum in modum Academiæ ac Gymnasia novis opinionum monstris, quibus non occulte amplius et cuniculis petitur Catholica Fides, sed horrificum ac nefarium ei bellum aperte jam et propalam infertur. Institutis enim exemploque Præceptorum, corruptis adolescentium animis, ingens Religionis clades, morumque perversitas teterrima percrebuit. Hinc porro freno Religionis sanctissimæ projecto, per quam unam Regna consistunt, dominatusque vis ac robur firmatur, conspicimus ordinis publici exitium, labem principatus, omnisque legitimæ potestatis conversionem invalescere. Quæ quidem tanta calamitatum congeries ex illarum imprimis conspiratione societatum est repetenda, in quas quidquid in hæresibus, et in sceleratissimis quibusque sectis sacrilegum, flagitiosum, ac blasphemum est, quasi in sentinam quamdam, cum omnium sordium concretione confluxit.

Hæc, Venerabiles Fratres, et alia complura, et fortassis etiam graviora, quæ in præsens percensere longum esset, ac vos probe nostis, in dolore esse Nos jubent, acerbo sane ac diuturno, quos in Cathedra Principis Apostolorum constitutos, zelus universæ domus Dei comedat præ cæteris, opus est. Verum cum eo Nos

* Luc. 22. 53. † Isaiæ 24. 5.

loci positos esse agnoscamus, quo deplorare duntaxat innumera hæc mala non sufficiat, nisi et ea convellere pro viribus connitamur ; ad opem fidei vestræ confugimus, vestramque pro Catholici Gregis salute solicitudinem advocamus, Venerabiles Fratres, quorum spectata virtus ac religio et singularis prudentia et sedula adsiduitas animos Nobis addit, atque in tanta rerum asperitate afflictos consolatione sustentat perjucunda. Nostrarum quippe est partium, vocem tollere, omniaque conari, ne aper de silva demoliatur vineam, neve lupi mactent gregem : Nostrum est, oves in ea duntaxat pabula compellere, quæ salutaria iisdem sint, nec vel tenui suspicione perniciosa. Absit, Charissimi, absit, ut quando tanta premant mala, tanta impendeant discrimina, suo desint muneri pastores, et perculsi metu dimittant oves, vel, abjecta cura gregis, otio torpeant ac desidia. Agamus idcirco in unitate spiritus communem Nostram, seu verius Dei causam, et contra communes hostes pro totius populi salute una omnium sit vigilantia, una contentio.

Id porro apprime præstabitis, si, quod vestri muneris ratio postulat, attendatis vobis, et doctrinæ, illud assidue revolventes animo, *universalem Ecclesiam quacumque novitate pulsari**, atque S. Agathonis Pontificis monitu† *nihil de iis, quæ sunt regulariter definita, minui debere, nihil mutari, nihil adjici, sed ea et verbis, et sensibus illibata esse custodienda.* Immota inde consistet firmitas unitatis, quæ hac B. Petri Cathedra suo veluti fundamento continetur, ut unde in Ecclesias omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant, ibi *universis et murus sit, et securitas, et portus expers fluctuum, et bonorum thesaurus innumerabilium*‡. Ad eorum itaque retundendam audaciam, qui vel jura Sanctæ hujus Sedis infringere conantur, vel dirimere Ecclesiarum cum ipsa conjunctionem, qua una eædem nituntur et vigent, maximum fidei in eam ac venerationis sinceræ studium inculcate, inclamantes cum S. Cypriano§, *falso confidere se esse in Ecclesia, qui Cathedram Petri deserat, super quam fundata est Ecclesia.*

In hoc ideo elaborandum vobis est, assidueque vigilandum, ut fidei depositum custodiatur in tanta hominum impiorum conspi-

* S. Celest. PP. Ep. 21 ad Episcop. Galliar.

† S. Agatho PP. Ep. ad Imp. apud Labb. Tom. II. pag. 235. Ed. Mansi.

‡ S. Innocent. PP. Ep. 11. apud Coustant.

§ S. Cypr. de unitate Eccles.

ratione, quam ad illud diripiendum perdendumque factam lamentamur. Meminerint omnes, judicium de sana doctrina, qua populi imbuendi sunt, atque Ecclesiæ universæ regimen et administrationem penes Romanum Pontificem esse, cui *plena pascendi, regendi, et gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam potestas a Christo Domino tradita fuit*, uti Patres Florentini Concilii diserte declararunt*. Est autem singulorum Episcoporum Cathedræ Petri fidelissime adhærere, depositum sancte religioseque custodire, et pascere, qui in eis est, gregem Dei. Presbyteri vero subjecti sint, oportet, Episcopis, quos *uti animæ parentes suscipiendos ab ipsis esse*, monet Hieronymus†: nec unquam obliviscantur, se vetustis etiam canonibus vetari, quidpiam in suscepto ministerio agere, ac docendi et concionandi munus sibi sumere *sine sententia Episcopi, cujus fidei populus est creditus, et a quo pro animabus ratio exigetur*‡. Certum denique firmumque sit, eos omnes, qui adversus præstitutum hunc ordinem aliquid moliantur, statum Ecclesiæ, quantum in ipsis est, perturbare.

Nefas porro esset, atque ab eo venerationis studio prorsus alienum, qua Ecclesiæ leges sunt excipiendæ, sancitam ab ipsa disciplinam, qua et sacrorum procuratio, et morum norma, et jurium Ecclesiæ Ministrorumque ejus ratio continetur vesana opinandi libidine improbari, vel ut certis juris naturæ principiis infestam notari, vel mancam dici atque imperfectam, civilique auctoritati subjectam.

Cum autem, ut Tridentinorum Patrum verbis utamur, constet, Ecclesiam *eruditam fuisse a CHRISTO JESU, ejusque Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto illi omnem veritatem in dies suggerente edoceri*§, absurdum plane est, ac maxime in eam injuriosum, *restaurationem* ac *regenerationem* quamdam obtrudi, quasi necessariam, ut ejus incolumitati et incremento consulatur, perinde ac si censeri ipsa possit vel defectui, vel obscurationi, vel aliis hujuscemodi incommodis obnoxia; quo quidem molimine eo spectant novatores, ut *recentis humanæ institutionis jaciantur fundamenta*, illudque ipsum eveniat, quod detestatur Cyprianus, ut, quæ divina

* Conc. Flor. Sess. 25. In definit. apud Labb. Tom. 18, col. 527, edit. Venet.

† S. Hieron. Ep. 2. ad Nepot. al. 24.

‡ Ex. Can. Ap. 38, apud Labb. Tom. 1. pag. 38. Edit. Mansi.

§ Conc. Trid. Sess. 13. dec. de Eucharist. in proœm.

res est, *humana fiat Ecclesia**. Perpendant vero, qui consilia id genus machinantur, uni Romano Pontifici ex S. Leonis testimonio *Canonum dispensationem esse creditam*, ipsiusque duntaxat esse non vero privati hominis, *de paternarum regulis sanctionum* quidpiam decernere, atque ita, quemadmodum scribit S. Gelasius†, *decreta Canonum librare, decessorumque præcepta metiri, ut quæ necessitas temporum restaurandis Ecclesiis relaxanda deposcit, adhibita consideratione diligenti, temperentur.*

Hic autem vestram volumus excitatam pro Religione constantiam adversus fœdissimam in Clericalem cœlibatum conjurationem, quam nostis effervescere in dies latius, connitentibus cum perditissimis nostri ævi philosophis, nonnullis etiam ex ipso ecclesiastico ordine, qui personæ obliti, munerisque sui, ac blanditiis abrepti voluptatum, eo licentiæ proruperunt, ut publicas etiam atque iteratas aliquibus in locis ausi sint adhibere Principibus postulationes ad disciplinam illam sanctissimam perfringendam. Sed piget de turpissimis hisce conatibus longo vos sermone distinere, vestræque potius religioni fidentes committimus, ut legem maximi momenti, in quam lascivientium tela undique sunt intenta, sartam tectam custodiri, vindicari, defendi, ex sacrorum canonum præscripto, omni ope contendatis.

Honorabile deinde Christianorum connubium, quod *Sacramentum magnum* nuncupavit Paulus *in Christo et Ecclesia*‡, communes nostras curas efflagitat, ne quid adversus ipsius sanctitatem, ac de indissolubili ejusdem vinculo minus recte sentiatur, vel tentetur induci. Impense id jam commendarat suis ad vos litteris felicis recordationis Prædecessor Noster Pius VIII adhuc tamen infesta eidem molimina succrescunt. Docendi itaque sunt sedulo Populi, matrimonium semel rite initum dirimi amplius non posse, nexisque connubio Deum indidisse perpetuam vitæ societatem, nodumque necessitudinis, qui exsolvi, nisi morte, non possit. Memores, sacris illud rebus adnumerari, et Ecclesiæ proinde subjici, præstitutas de ipso ejusdem Ecclesiæ leges habeant ob oculos, iisque pareant sancte, accurateque, ex quarum exequutione omnino pendet ejusdem connubii vis, robur, ac justa consociato. Caveant,

* S. Cypr. Ep. 52. Edit. Baluz.

† S. Gelasius, PP. in Ep. ad Episcop. Lucaniæ.

‡ Ad Heb. 13. 4.

ne quod sacrorum canonum placitis, Conciliorumque decretis officiat, ulla ratione admittant, probe gnari, exitus infelices illa habitura esse conjugia, quæ vel adversus Ecclesiæ disciplinam, vel non propitiato prius Deo, vel solo æstu libidinis jungantur, quin de sacramento, ac de mysteriis, quæ illo significantur, ulla teneat sponsos cogitatio.

Alteram nunc persequimur causam malorum uberrimam, quibus afflictari in præsens comploramus Ecclesiam, *indifferentismum* scilicet, seu pravam illam opinionem, quæ improborum fraude ex omni parte percrebuit, qualibet fidei professione æternam posse animæ salutem comparari, si mores ad recti honestique normam exigantur. At facili sane negotio in re perspicua, planeque evidenti, errorem exitiosissimum a populis vestræ curæ concreditis propelletis. Admonente Apostolo*, *unum esse Deum, unam fidem, unum baptisma*, extimescant, qui e religione qualibet patere ad portum beatudinis aditum comminiscuntur, reputentque animo ex ipsius Servatoris testimonio, *esse se contra Christum, qui cum Christo non sunt*†, seque infeliciter dispergere, quia cum ipso non colligunt, ideoque *absque dubio æternum esse perituros, nisi teneant Catholicam fidem, eamque integram, inviolatamque servaverint*‡. Hieronymum audiant, qui, cum in tres partes schismate scissa esset Ecclesia, narrat, se tenacem propositi, quando aliquis rapere ipsum ad se nitebatur, constanter clamitasse: *Si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur meus est*§. Falso autem sibi quis blandiretur, quod et ipse in aqua sit regeneratus. Opportune enim responderet Augustinus‖: *Ipsam formam habet etiam sarmentum, quod præcisum est de vite: sed quid illi prodest forma, si non vivit de radice?*

Atque ex hoc putidissimo *indifferentismi* fonte absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia, seu potius deliramentum, asserendam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet *libertatem conscientiæ*. Cui quidem pestilentissimo errori viam sternit plena illa, atque immoderata libertas opinionum, quæ in sacræ, et civilis rei labem late grassatur, dictitantibus per summam impudentiam nonnullis, aliquid ex ea commodi in Religionem promanare. At *quæ pe-*

* Ad Ephes. 4. 5. † Luc. 11. 23. ‡ Symbol. 1. Athanas.
§ S. Hier. Ep. 58. ‖ S. Aug. in Psal. contra part. Donat.

jor mors animæ, quam libertas erroris? inquiebat Augustinus.* Freno quippe omni adempto, quo homines contineantur in semitis veritatis, proruente jam in præceps ipsorum natura ad malum inclinata, vere apertum dicimus *puteum abyssi*,† e quo vidit Joannes, ascendere fumum, quo obscuratus est sol, locustis ex eo prodeuntibus in vastitatem terræ. Inde enim animorum immutationes, inde adolescentium in deteriora corruptio, inde in populo sacrorum, rerumque, ac legum sanctissimarum contemptus, inde uno verbo pestis rei publicæ præ qualibet capitalior, cum experientia teste vel a prima antiquitate notum sit, civitatis, quæ opibus, imperio, gloria floruere, hoc uno malo concidisse, libertate immoderata opinionum, licentia concionum, rerum novandarum cupiditate.

Huc spectat deterrima illa, ac numquam satis exsecranda et detestabilis libertas artis librariæ ad scripta quælibet edenda in vulgus, quam tanto convicio audent nonnulli efflagitare ac promovere. Perhorrescimus, Venerabiles Fratres, intuentes, quibus monstris doctrinarum, seu potius quibus errorum portentis obruamur, quæ longe ac late ubique disseminantur ingenti librorum multitudine, libellisque, et scriptis mole quidem exiguis, malitia tamen permagnis, e quibus maledictionem egressam illacrymamur super faciem terræ. Sunt tamen, proh dolor! qui eo impudentiæ abripiantur, ut asserant pugnaciter, hanc errorum colluviem inde prorumpentem satis cumulate compensari ex libro aliquo, qui in hac tanta pravitatum tempestate ad Religionem ac veritatem propugnandum edatur.—Nefas profecto est, omnique jure improbatum, patrari data opera malum certum ac majus, quia spes sit, inde boni aliquid habitum iri. Numquid venena libere spargi, ac publice vendi, comportarique, imo et obbibi debere, sanus quis dixerit, quod remedii quidpiam habeatur, quo qui utuntur, eripi eos ex interitu identidem contingat?

Verum longe alia fuit Ecclesiæ disciplina in exscindenda malorum librorum peste vel ab Apostolorum ætate, quos legimus grandem librorum vim publice combussisse.‡ Satis sit, leges in Concilio Lateranensi V. in eam rem datas perlegere et Constitutionem, quæ deinceps a Leone X. fel. rec. Prædecessore Nostro fuit edita, ne *id quod ad fidei augmentum, ac bonarum*

* S. Aug. Ep. 166. † Apocalyps. 9. 3. ‡ Act. Apost. 19.

*artium propagationem salubriter est inventum, in contrarium convertatur, ac Christi fidelium saluti detrimentum pariat.** Id quidem et Tridentinis Patribus maximæ curæ fuit, qui remedium tanto huic malo adhibuere, edito saluberrimo decreto de Indice librorum, quibus impura doctrina contineretur, conficiendo.† *Pugnandum est acriter*, inquit Clemens XIII. fel. rec. Prædecessor Noster in suis de noxiorum librorum proscriptione encyclicis litteris,‡ *pugnandum est acriter, quantum res ipsa efflagitat, et pro viribus tot librorum mortifera exterminanda pernicies: numquam enim materia subtrahetur erroris, nisi pravitatis facinorosa elementa in flammis combusta depereant.* Ex hac itaque constanti omnium ætatum solicitudine, qua semper Sancta hæc Apostolica Sedes suspectos et noxios libros damnare, et de hominum manibus extorquere enisa est, patet luculentissime, quantopere falsa, temeraria, eidemque Apostolicæ Sedi injuriosa, et fecunda malorum in Christiano Populo ingentium sit illorum doctrina, qui nedum censuram librorum veluti gravem nimis, et onerosam rejiciunt, sed eo etiam improbitatis progrediuntur, ut eam prædicent a recti juris principiis abhorrere, jusque illius decernendæ, habendæque audeant Ecclesiæ denegare.

Cum autem circumlatis in-vulgus scriptis doctrinas quasdam promulgari acceperimus, quibis debita erga Principes fides atque submissio labefactatur, facesque perduellionis ubique incenduntur: cavendum maxime erit, ne populi inde decepti a recti semita abducantur. Animadvertant omnes, *non esse*, juxta Apostoli monitum, *potestatem nisi a Deo; quæ autem sunt, a Deo ordinatæ sunt. Itaque qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit, et qui resistunt, ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt.*§ Quocirca et divina et humana jura in eos clamant, qui turpissimis perduellionis seditionumque machinationibus a fide in Principes descisere, ipsosque ab imperio deturbare connituntur.

Atque hac plane ex causa, ne tanta se turpitudine fœdarent veteres Christiani sævientibus licet persecutionibus, optime tamen eos de Imperatoribus, ac de Imperii incolumitate meritos fuisse

* Act. Conc. Lateran. V. sess. 10. ubi refertur Const. Leonis X. Legenda est anterior Constitutio Alexandri VI. *Inter multiplices*, in qua multa ad rem. † Conc. Trid. Sess. 18 et 25.

‡ Lit. Clem. XIII. Christianæ, 25 Nov. 1766. § Ad Rom. 13, 2.

constat, idque nedum fide in iis, quæ sibi mandabantur Religioni non contraria, accurate prompteque perficiendis, sed et constantia, et effuso etiam in prælliis sanguine luculentissime comprobasse. *Milites Christiani*, ait S. Augustinus,* *servierunt Imperatori infideli; ubi veniebatur ad causam Christi, non agnoscebant, nisi illum qui in cœlis erat. Distinguebant Dominum æternum a Domino temporali, et tamen subditi erant propter Dominum æternum etiam Domino temporali.* Hæc quidem sibi ob oculos proposuerat Mauritius Martyr invictus, Legionis Thebanæ Primicerius, quando, uti S. Eucherius refert, hæc respondit Imperatori:† *Milites sumus, Imperator, tui, sed tamen servi, quod libere confitemur, Dei.....Et nunc non nos hæc ultima vitæ necessitas in rebellionem coegit: tenemus ecce arma, et non resistimus, quia mori, quam occidere satius volumus.* Quæ quidem veterum Christianorum in Principes fides eo etiam illustrior effulget, si perpendatur cum Tertulliano,‡ tunc temporis Christianis *non defuisse vim numerorum, et copiarum, si hostes exertos agere voluissent. Esterni sumus*, inquit ipse, *et vestra omnia implevimus, Urbes, Insulas, Castella, Municipia, Conciliabula, Castra ipsa, Tribus, Decurias, Palatium, Senatum, Forum....Cui bello non idonei non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere?.....Si tanta vis hominum in aliquem Orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a vobis, suffudisset utique pudore Dominationem vestram tot qualiumcumque amissio civium, immo et ipsa destitutione punisset. Procul dubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram.....quæsissetis, quibus imperaretis; plures hostes, quam cives vobis remansissent: nunc autem pauciores hostes habetis præ multitudine Christianorum.*

Præclara hæc immobilis subjectionis in Principes exempla, quæ ex sanctissimis Christianæ Religionis præceptis necessario proficiscebantur, detestandam illorum insolentiam, et improbitatem condemnant, qui projecta, effrenataque procacis libertatis cupiditate æstuantes, toti in eo sunt, ut jura quæque Principatuum

* S. Aug. in Psal. 124, n. 7.

† S. Eucher. apud Ruinart. Act. SS. MM. de SS. Maurit. et Soc. n. 4.

‡ Tertul. in Apologet. Cap. 37.

labefactent, atque convellant, servitutem sub libertatis specie populis illaturi. Huc sane scelestissima deliramenta, consiliaque conspirarunt Waldensium, Beguardorum, Wiclefistarum, aliorumque hujusmodi filiorum Belial, qui humani generis sordes, ac dedecora fuere, merito idcirco ab Apostolica hac Sede toties anathemate confixi. Nec alia profecto ex causa omnes vires intendunt veteratores isti, nisi ut cum Luthero ovantes gratulari sibi possint, *liberos se esse ab omnibus:* quod ut facilius celeriusque assequantur, flagitiosiora quælibet audacissime aggrediuntur.

Nequè lætiora et Religioni, et Principatui ominari possemus ex eorum votis, qui Ecclesiam a Regno separari, mutuamque Imperii cum Sacerdotio concordiam abrumpi discupiunt. Constat quippe, pertimesci ab impudentissimæ libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quæ semper rei et sacræ et civili fausta extitit ac salutaris.

At ad ceteras acerbissimas causas, quibus soliciti sumus, et in communi discrimine dolore quodam præcipuo angimur, accessere consociationes quædam, statique cœtus, quibus, quasi agmine facto cum cujuscumque etiam falsæ religionis ac cultus sectatoribus, simulata quidem in religionem pietate, vere tamen novitatis, seditionumque ubique promovendarum cupidine, libertas omnis generis prædicatur, perturbationes in sacram et civilem rem exscitantur, sanctior quælibet auctoritas discerpitur.

Hæc perdolenti sane animo, fidentes tamen in Eo, qui imperat ventis et facit tranquillitatem, scribimus ad vos, Venerabiles Fratres, ut induti scutum fidei contendatis prœliari strenue prœlia Domini. Ad vos potissimum pertinet, stare pro muro contra omnem altitudinem extollentem se adversus scientiam Dei. Exerite gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, habeantque a vobis panem, qui esuriunt justitiam. Adsciti, ut sitis cultores navi in vinea Domini, id unum agite, in hoc simul laborate, ut radix quælibet amaritudinis ex agro vobis commisso evellatur, omnique enecato semine vitiorum convalescat ibi seges læta virtutum. Eos in primis affectu paterno complexi, qui ad sacras præsertim disciplinas, et ad philosophicas questiones animum appulere, hortatores, auctoresque iisdem sitis, ne solius ingenii sui viribus freti imprudenter a veritatis semita in viam abeant impiorum. Meminerint, Deum esse *sapientiæ ducem emendatoremque sapien-*

tium,* ac fieri non posse, ut sine Deo Deum discamus, qui per Verbum docet homines scire Deum.† Superbi, seu potius insipientis hominis est, fidei mysteria, quæ exsuperant omnem sensum, humanis examinare ponderibus, nostræque mentis rationi confidere, quæ naturæ humanæ conditione debilis est, et infirma.

Ceterum communibus hisce votis pro rei et sacræ, et publicæ incolumitate, Carissimi in Christo Filii Nostri Viri Principes sua faveant ope, et auctoritate, quam sibi collatam considerent non solum ad mundi regimen, sed maxime ad Ecclesiæ præsidium. Animadvertant sedulo, pro illorum imperio et quiete geri, quidquid pro Ecclesiæ salute laboratur; imo pluris sibi suadeant fidei causam esse debere, quam Regni, magnumque sibi esse perpendant, dicimus cum S. Leone Pontifice, *si ipsorum diademati de manu Domini etiam fidei addatur corona.* Positi quasi parentes, et tutores populorum, veram, constantem, opulentam iis quietem parient, et tranquillitatem, si in eam potissimum curam incumbant, ut incolumis sit Religio et pietas in Deum, qui habet scriptum in femore; *Rex Regum, et Dominus dominantium.*

Sed ut omnia hæc prospere ac feliciter eveniant, levemus oculos manusque ad Sanctissimam Virginem MARIAM, quæ sola universas hæreses interemit, Nostraque maxima fiducia, imo tota ratio est spei Nostræ.‡ Suo ipsa patrocinio in tanta Dominici gregis necessitate studiis, consiliis, actionibusque Nostris exitus secundissimos imploret. Id et ab Apostolorum Principe PETRO, et ab ejus Coapostolo PAULO humili prece efflagitemus; ut stetis omnes pro muro, ne fundamentum aliud ponatur præter id quod positum est. Hac jucunda spe freti, confidimus, Auctorem et Consummatorem fidei JESUM CHRISTUM consolaturum tandem fore Nos omnes in tribulationibus, quæ invenerunt Nos nimis, cœlestisque auxilii auspicem, Apostolicam Benedictionem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et ovibus vestræ curæ traditis peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem XVIII. Kalendas Septembris die sollemni Assumptionis ejusdem B. V. MARIÆ Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MDCCCXXXII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno II.

It is not my intention, which would be superfluous after having

* Sap. 7. 15. † S. Irenæus, Lib. 14. [sic] Cap. 10.
‡ Ex. S. Bernardo Serm. de Nat. B. M. V. §. 7.

referred to the Dublin republication, to offer any comment on this document. Yet it can never be observed too often, in reference to the degrading idolatry which marks the conclusion—and, be it remembered, it is the deliberate and public profession of idolatry by the head of the Church—that an act of devotion, although passing on to, and terminating upon, the true God, may yet be real and *substantial idolatry*, and such as is most pointedly and solemnly forbidden in the divine law. It is important to attend to this distinction, because, under favour of a vague and artful definition, merging this distinction, Romanists uniformly leave meshes in the net large enough for their own escape—but large enough also for the escape of the great body of idolaters from the beginning of the world. The offensive paragraph is indeed for substance found in a constitution so early as of Boniface IX, 1390, *Superni benignitas*. And it has the expression respecting the Virgin Mary, *quæ sola universas hæreses interemit*, which I make a point of noticing the more, because the omission of his present holiness has been kindly, if not officiously, supplied by some *Hibernian* friend, and subject, (I presume,) as the correction first appears in the Dublin edition. In the original no authority is produced for the clause; but in the reprint the reference is made—S. Aug. This, to be sure, is a very satisfactory reference, and *may alone destroy all doubt*. We have only to look for a single line through eleven folios, and may at last find it in a spurious work, scouted even by ingenuous critics of the Roman Church, as is often the case. There are two or three other corrections in references to scripture. But the whole epistle is a treasure—although of iniquity.

I just add from an edition of the Canons, &c., Salmanticæ, 1571, because it is omitted in Le Plat's, (although transferred to several modern ones,) a list, which throws some light upon *national proportion* in the council.

Numerus Prælatorum cujuscunque nationis qui ad œcumenicam Tridentinam Synodum convenere.

Prælati.—Itali	187	*per procuratores*			2
Galli	26	*per procuratores*			1
Germani	2	*per procuratores*			4
Hispani	31	*per procuratores*			4
Lusitani	3	Hiberni			3
Græci	6	Flandri			2
Poloni	2	Croati			1
Vngari	2	Moravi			1
Angli	1	Illirici			3

INDEX.

'*Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*,' dishonest alteration of, 156, 157, *note* †.

Absolution of the Church of England, falsely asserted to be the same with that of the Church of Rome, 157 *note* *, and 158 *note*.

Adrian VI., Pope, efforts of, at reformation of papal abuses, frustrated, 4. His instructions to his legate on this subject, 6.

Advice addressed by some cardinals to Paul IV., abstract of, 11—13. Its genuineness, 13, 14.

Ambassadors of France and Spain, dispute between, for precedence, 269, 270, 280, 281.

Augsburg, notice of the diet at, 165.

Auto de Fé at Valladolid, account of, 334—340.

Basil (Council of), notice of, 3.

Beza (Theodore), calumnies of, by Romanists, 263, 264, and *notes*.

Bishops, debates in the Council of Trent concerning the jurisdiction of, 249—253. Final adjustment of them, 256.

Bologna, circumstances which led to the removal of the Council of Trent to, 118—120. Celebration of the first session there, 123, 124. Proceedings of the second session, 130—136. The council removed from Bologna to Trent, 137, 138.

Books, form of a papal license for reading, 185 *note*. Discussion in the Council of Trent concerning the Index of prohibited books, 180—183. List of persons employed in preparing it, 185. Debate upon the decree concerning them, 187—189.

Breviary (Roman), reformation of, entrusted to the Pope, 321.

Bula Cruzada granted to the King of Spain by Leo XII., observations on, 344, 345. Translation of it, 346—358.

Cabrieres, notice of the massacre of Protestants at, 22.

Canonical Scripture, disputes in the Council of Trent concerning, 50—60. Decree concerning them, 60. And the editions and interpretation thereof, 60, 61.

Cardinals, a congregation of, appointed to superintend the Council of Trent, 30, *note*.

Cases reserved to the pope, account of, 326—332.

Caterino, Bishop of Minori, arguments of, against the necessity of the priest's intention, to constitute a sacrament, 110, 111.

Cava (Bishop of), dispute with the bishop of Chiron, and his punishment, 83.

Centum Gravamina, or hundred grievances, presented to the Diet of Nuremberg, notice of the editions of, 5. Outline of them, 6—8. Proofs of the genuineness of this instrument, 8, 9.

Certainty of grace, decision of the Tridentine Council upon, 89.

Charles V., observations of the papal legates on the conduct of, with reference to the Council of Trent, 20—22. Presses their consideration of reformation, 79. Concludes a league with the pope against the Protestants in Germany, *ibid.* Account of the Interim issued by him, 134, 135. Convenes a diet at Augsburg, 165. His retirement from the throne, 166.

Chioggia (Naclantus, bishop of), objections of, to the Romish dogma respect-

ing traditions, 55, 60. And to the Tridentine decree concerning them, 61. Ridiculed for his poverty, 59.
Colloquy at Ratisbon, in 1546, account of, 68, 69, 325, 326.
Communion in one kind, debates in the Twenty-first Session concerning, 210, 211—213. Urged by the emperor in behalf of the Germans, 231. Healing expedient proposed, 232. Debates on this subject, 232, 233. The affair referred to the pope, 234.
Confession, immoral tendency of Romish instructions for, 156, 157.
Constance (Council of), 3.
Councils: see *Basil, Constance, Florence, Mantua, Pisa*, TRENT.
Cramp's (J. M.) 'Text-Book of Popery,' commendation of, 156.
Cup, debates on the giving of, to the laity, 210—213, 231—234.
Cyprian's works, remarks on the falsification of, in Paulo Manutio's edition of, 277.

Dispute between the bishops of Chiron and Cava, at the Council of Trent, 83. Between the Cardinals of Trent and of Jaen about the suspending of the council, 84, 85.
Donovan's translation of the Tridentine Catechism, wilful omission in, 151, *note*.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, proceedings in the Council of Trent respecting, 268. Remarks on her treatment of the Romanists, *ibid.* 269.
Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI., copy of, 360—371. Remarks on it, 372.
Eucharist, sentiments of Protestants concerning, denounced in the Council of Trent, 112, 113. Its decree and canons concerning, 145, 146.
Excommunication, different degrees of, 313, *note* †.
Extreme Unction, tenets of Protestants concerning, condemned by the Council at Bologna, 125. Opinions of the Tridentine theologians on it, 153, 154.

Farnese (Alessandro), abstract of letters to, from the papal legates, detailing the preliminary measures of the Council of Trent, 18—32.
Ferdinand (the emperor), consultation of, in the reformation of the Roman Breviary and Missal, 321.
Ferrier (ambassador of France), memorable address of, to the Council of Trent, 247, 248.
Florence (council of), notice of, 4.
France, observations on the fortunes of the reformation in, 340—344.
French Ambassadors, speech of, at the Twentieth Session of the Council of Trent, 206. Answer returned to them, 208.

Garden of the Soul, a Popish Manual of Devotion, remarks on, 333.
Geddes (Dr. Alexander), on the variations between the Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Latin Bible, 67, 68, *note* †.
——————— On the character of the Romish prelates at the Council of Trent, 322.
Granada (archbishop of), objection of, to the decree of Pius IV., relative to the Seventeenth Session of the Council of Trent, 177, 178. And to the Index of prohibited books proposed in the Eighteenth Session, 187, 188. Doubts of concerning the interpretation of John vi., 220. On the commencement of the Apostolic commission, 229. Insists upon the divine right of episcopacy, 245.
Gregory XVI. (Pope), Dedication of this work to him, iii. Copy of the Encyclical Letter of, 360—371. Observation on it, 372.
Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, remarks on the case of, 282.
Guise (Duke of), remarks on the assassination of, 263, 264, and *notes*.

Henry II., King of France, dispute between, and Pope Julius III., 141. His objection to the Council of Trent, 142. Severe decree against the Protestants, 142. His death, 166.
Henry (Stuart), Cardinal Duke of York, notice of cases reserved to, 333.
Heretics, liberal offer of the Council of Trent to, 188.

Idolatry and image-worship of the Romish Church remarks on, 318, 319.
Immaculate Virgin, remarks on the application of the title of to the Blessed Virgin Mary, 76, 77.
Index of prohibited books, discussions concerning in the Eighteenth Session of the Tridentine Council, 180—183. List of fathers appointed to compose it, 185. Debates upon the decree concerning it, 187—189. Sketch of it, 192. Ignorance of Romanists in England respecting the indexes of their church, 193, *note*. The ultimate formation and publication of it left to the pope, 322. Remarks on it, *ib.* 321.
Indulgences, remarks on the decree of the Tridentine Council concerning, 316, 317, and 318, 319, *notes*. On what days plenary indulgences may be gained in Spain, 357, 358.
Inquisition in Spain and at Rome, care of the council in watching over the interests of, 189, 190.
Intention of the priest, discussions concerning the necessity of, to constitute a sacrament, 110, 111.
Interim issued by Charles V., account of, 134, 135.

James's (Dr.) 'Bellum Papale,' notice of, 67.
Jenkyn's (Rev. Henry) edition of Canmer's *Remains*, notice of, 10, *note*.
Julius III., Pope, election of, 136, 137. Translates the council from Bologna to Trent, 137, 138. Resumption of the council under him, 139. Advice of, to his legate, 154. Letter of to Crescentio, and his own views of reformation, 162. Reflexions of Vargas on the dilemma to which he was reduced, 163, *note*. His death, 165.
Justification, discussion of, at the colloquy at Ratisbon, 68, 69; 325, 326. Questions concerning submitted to the congregation of theologians, 80, 81. Discussions thereon, 81, 82. Decree concerning this doctrine proposed to the council, 93, 94, 95. Further discussions on it, 97. Proposal of the emperor for deferring the publication of it, 99. Publication of a draft of the decree with annotations, *ib. note*. Embarrassment of the Romish church on this question, 100, 101. Further proceedings, 102, 103. Final decree of the council concerning justification, 104, 105. Objection of the Protestants to it, 106. Reflexions upon this important doctrine, 107.

Legates (papal), arrival of at Trent, 18. Request an indulgence for the inhabitants, 19, 21. Causes of their delay in proceeding with the council, 20. Their representations of the conduct of the Emperor Charles V., 20, 22. Their dilemma as to the opening of the council, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29. And concerning the admission of proxies to vote, 25, 26. Their opinion concerning the incompatibility of the imperial diet and the council, 29. Their account of the preliminaries to the opening of the council, 30—32. Reflexion thereon, 33. The council opened by them in the First Session, 34, 35. Plan of operations proposed by them in the Second Session, 36—41. Disputes concerning the order of proceeding, and the language in which proceedings were to be conducted, 42—44, 46, 47. Their juggling about reformation, 44, 45. Account of the discussions about the scriptures, 49—60. Further dilemmas of, in the Fifth Session, concerning reformation, 62, 63. And original sin, 71. Their perplexity, 89. They urge a translation of the council, *ib.* 90. Artful reply of, to the application of the Protestants for a safe conduct, 184. Speech of, in reply to the French ambassadors, 209. Bibliographical notice of letters

written by the legates to the Romish see, *Pref.* x.—xii. xiv. Debate on the words *proponentibus legatis*, 292, 293; 295, 296.
Leo XII. (Pope), translation of the Bula Cruzada granted by to the king of Spain, 346—358.
Lessons of the commissioners for the education of the poor in Ireland, strictures on, 229 *note*.
Lorraine (Cardinal of), address of to the Council of Trent, 246, 247. Ingratiates himself with the Roman see, 281. His favourable reception at Rome, 295. Its effects on the council, 295. His return to Trent, and speech to the council, 300.
Luther, origin of the reformation under, 1, 2. Was the seminal cause of the Council of Trent, 2. Progress of the reformation under him, 4—7. Calumnious statements of Romanists concerning him, 58, 59, *note* §. Admitted the institution of episcopacy to be of divine right, 243.
Lutherans consent to the Council of Trent on certain conditions, 127.

Madruccio (Cardinal), speech of, on the prohibitory index of the Romish church, 187.
Mantua, council of convened, 10.
——— Cardinal of, address to the persons convened at the Seventeenth Session of the Tridentine council, 176. Wishes to resign his office of legate, 218, 219. Conciliatory letter of the pope to him, 219. His death, 263.
Marcellus II. (Pope), notice of, 165.
Mariani's (M.A.), description of the city of Trent, notice of, 17 *note*. On the plate in his work, representing the council in session, *Pref.* xxix. xxx.
Mass, articles proposed to the Council of Trent concerning, 225, 226. Debates thereon, 226—229. Determination of the council on it, 230. Decree and canons relative to it, 238. On the abuses of the Mass, 235.
Massacre of Protestants at Merindol and Cabrieres, 22.
Massarelli (Angelo), Summarium sacri Concilii Tridentini, notice of, ix. x.
Matrimony, tenets of Protestants concerning, condemned by the council at Bologna, 125. Proposed canons on, 280. Decree of the Twenty-fourth Session concerning, 300.
Milledoni (Antonio), notice of his 'Historia del sacro concilio di Trento,' *Pref.* ix.
Missal, reformation of committed to the pope, 321.
Morone, Cardinal, appointed legate to the Council of Trent, 255. His address to it, 266. Especially on passing the decrees of reformation in the Twenty-fourth Session, 299, 300.

Nuremberg (diet of), Papal legate sent to, 4. Account of the Centum Gravamina presented by the German princes assembled at it, 5. Outline of them, 6—8.

Order, sacrament of, tenets of Protestants concerning, condemned by the council at Bologna, 125. Articles concerning it proposed for consideration at the Council of Trent, 242. Discussions on this subject, 243, 244, 245. The seventh canon respecting order, 248. Remarks on it, 248, 249. Debates in the council, 249—253. Dilemma of the legates, 253. Negotiations with the French cardinal of Lorraine, 254. Final adjustment of the question, 256. Discussions concerning the abuses of order, 270—272.
Original Sin, discussion of the theological congregation at Trent concerning, 72, 73, 74. Decree of the Tridentine Council concerning it, 75, 76. Their dilemma concerning the blessed Virgin Mary, 76, 77.

Paleotto, (Gabriel, cardinal,) account of his 'Acta Concilii Tridentini,' *Pref.*

xiii., and 171—173. His description of the ceremonies attending the opening of the council, 177, 178.
Pallavicino's History of the Council of Trent, remarks on, *Pref.* v. vi. Sources of his history, vi. *note.* Letter of Pallavicino to Giambattista Rinalducci, xvi. *note.*
Papacy, schisms in, a cause of the Reformation, 4, 5.
Paul III. (Pope), convenes the council of Mantua, 10. Outlines of the advice presented to him by a select body of cardinals, 11, 12—14. Prorogues that council, and convenes one at Vicenza, 14. And afterwards at Trent, 15. 17. Makes a league with the emperor against the Protestants of Germany, 79. His death, 136.
Paul IV. (Pope), election and character of, 165. Condemns the advice which, as a cardinal, he had given to Paul III., 13. First proceedings of his pontificate, 165, 166. Rejoicings at his death, 166.
Penance, disputes concerning at the Council of Trent, 152, 153. Its decree concerning, 155. Remarks on the Romish doctrine of penance, 156.
Peref's (P. J. L. de) 'Eclaircissemens Historiques,' notice of, 343 *note.*
Piemont, victory of the Christians of, over their Popish persecutors, 170, 171.
Pisa (council of), notice of, 2, 3.
Pius IV. elected pope, 167. Resumes the Council of Trent, *ib.* Invective against his bull of resumption, *ib.* and *note.* Refusals of various Protestant princes to attend the council, and on what grounds, 168. Abstract of his breve relating to the Eighteenth Session, 179, 180. Authority of his creed in the Romish church, *Pref.* xxiii. xxiv.
Poggiano (Giulio), his calumnies of Beza, 263. 264, *note.* Letter of the legates preserved by him, 318 *note.*
Pope, styled 'our Lord,' by the legates at the Council of Trent, 34. Account of the cases specially reserved to him, 326—332.
Preaching, decree of the Fifth Session concerning, 77.
Protestants, league of the pope and emperor against, 79. Their further proceedings against them, 82, 83. Objections of Protestants against the decree concerning justification, 106, 107. Massacre of Protestants at Merindol and Cabrières, 22. On what conditions the Lutheran Protestants consented to the Council of Trent, 127. They demand a safe-conduct of the council, 141. 143. Evasions of the pope, 143. Ambassadors of some Protestant states attend the Fifteenth Session, and demand a safe-conduct, 159, 160. Account of the safe-conduct accorded to them, 161. Observations of Vargas on it, 161, 162. Refusal of several Protestant princes to attend the council under Pius IV., 168. Discussions in the Eighteenth Session concerning the safe-conduct to be granted them, 183. Wily expressions of the legate concerning, 184. Debates in the Nineteenth Session respecting their safe-conduct, 194, 195. Decree issued for it, 196. Reasons why they could not trust themselves at the council, 207, 208.
Purgatory, on what days a soul may be liberated from, in Spain, 358.

Quæstors, decree of the Fifth Session concerning, 77, 78. Abolition of their office, 222. Remarks on it, 223.

Real Presence, canon of the council at Bologna concerning, 126.
Reformation (Protestant), causes of—schism in the papacy, 4, 5. Abuses in the Roman church, 6—8. Its origin, under Luther, 1, 2. And progress, 9. Council at Mantua summoned to consider on reformation, 10.
Reformation of papal abuses, disputes in the Council of Trent concerning, 44, 45. Attempt of the legates there to tranquillize the pope's mind on this subject, 48, 49. Decree of the Fifth Session concerning reformation, 77, 78. Decree of the Sixth Session, 105, 106. Objections to it, 107. Decree of the Seventh Session, 117. Of the Thirteenth Session, 146,

147. Of the Fourteenth Session, 155. Debates concerning it in the Nineteenth Session, 196—199. Manœuvres of the legates, 200. Debates on in the Twenty-first Session, 215. Decree of the Twenty-second Session, 239. Proceedings in the Twenty-third Session, 259—269. And in the Twenty-fourth Session, 283, 284, 285—288. Fresh articles of reformation tendered, and renewed discussions concerning them, 289—294. Decrees of the Twenty-fourth Session on it, 301, 302. And of the Twenty-fifth Session, 315—321.

Representing clause, debate on, 187-189.

Reserved Cases, account of, 326—332. Remarks thereon, 332, 333.

Residence of bishops and clergy, angry debates on in the Nineteenth Session, 198—202. Proposed decree on this subject, 204. Apprehensions of the pope and cardinals, 205. Further debates on, in the Twenty-first Session, 216, 217. And in the Twenty-third Session, 259—262.

Rinalducci's (Giambattista) Transcript of Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent in Italian, corrected by Pallavicino's History, account of, *Pref.* xv. xvi. Copy of Pallavicino's letter to him, xvi. *note.*

Sacrament, disputes concerning the necessity of the priest's intention to constitute, 110, 111. Decree of the Council of Trent concerning their number and efficacy, 114, 115.

Sacrifice of the Mass, articles concerning, proposed to the Council of Trent, 225, 226. Discussions concerning, 226, 227—229. Discussion of the council, 230.

Safe-conduct demanded by the protestants of the Tridentine Council, 141, 143. Papal evasions concerning it, 143. Renewed demand of one, in the Fifteenth Session, 159, 160. Account of that accorded to them, 161. Discussions in the Eighteenth Session, concerning the safe-conduct to be granted to them, 183. Crafty expression of the papal legates concerning it, 184. Debates in the Nineteenth Session relative to it, 194, 195. Sketch of the decree for it, 196.

Sarpi's (Paolo) History of the Council of Trent, notice of, *Pref.* v. vi. And of Rinalducci's transcript of it, corrected by Pallavicino, xv. xvi.

Schisms in the papacy, a cause of the reformation, 2, 3.

Scripture, discussions concerning, 50—58. And the propriety of allowing translations, 58. Tradition equalled with scripture, 60. Objections to this decision, 61. The old Latin Vulgate Version declared only to be authentic, 60. Decree of the Fifth Session concerning the reading of them, 77.

Segovia (bishop of), protest of, on the sacrifice of the mass, 239.

Seripando (cardinal), death of, 264, 265.

Servantio (Jo. Astolfo), notice of his 'Diario del Concilio di Trento,' *Pref.* xiii.

Simonetta, speech of, concerning reform in the papal church, 196. Discussion concerning it, *ibid.*, 197.

Smedley's (Rev. Edward), 'History of the Reformed Religion in France,' notice of, 169, *note.*

Sorti dell' Epifania, conjectures on the nature of, 50, 51, *note.*

Tradition of the Romish church declared to be equal to Scripture, 60. Objections to this decision, 61.

Transubstantiation, decree and canons of the Council of Trent concerning, 145, 146. Observations on this tenet of the Romish church, 148—152.

Trent (city), notice of Mariani's Description of, 17, *note.* *Pref.* xxix.

TRENT (Council of):—

1. *Bibliographical Account* of Manuscript Authorities relative to the *first* assembly of this council; viz. of the Diario del Concilio, dal Ambasciatore Veneto, *Pref.* viii. ix. Of the Historia del Concilio da Antonio Milledoni, ix. Of Angelo Massarelli's Summarium Sacri Concilii Tridentini

Bononiensis, ix. x. Various collections of Letters written by the papal legates x.—xii. Notice of historical sources for the *second* assembly, xii. Notice of Manuscript Authorities relative to the *final* assembly of this Council, xiii. The Diario of Jo. Astolfo Servantio, xiii. Of Cardinal Gabriel Paleotto's Acta Concilii Tridentini, xiii. Of Letters written by the legates and by Visconti, xiv. Of some Miscellaneous Letters and Documents, xiv. xv. Of Rinalducci's Italian History of the Council, xv. xvi. Of the Declarationes Concilii Tridentini, xv.

2. *Proceedings of the Council of Trent:*—The remote and seminal cause of it, 2. Convened by Paul III., 15. Facies Concilii tempore Sessionis, *Pref.* xxiv. Account of the Engraving representing the Council in Session, xxix. xxx. Notice of the legates appointed to be present there, 17, 18. Abstracts of their letters to Alessandro Farnese, detailing the measures preliminary to the actual sitting of the council, 18—32. Reflexions thereon, 33. A congregation of cardinals appointed to superintend it, 32. Opening of the Council, 34. Proceedings of the First Session, *ibid.* 35, 36. Mode of living, &c. in the council, and proceedings of the Second Session, 36—41. Of the Third Session, 41—47. Of the Fourth Session, 48—61. Of the Fifth Session, 62—78. Of the Sixth Session, 79—108. Of the Seventh Session, 108—118. Of the Eighth Session, 118—120. Removal of the council to Bologna, where the Ninth and Tenth Sessions were held, 120—139. Eleventh Session; Resumption of the Council at Trent, under Julius III., 139, 140. Proceedings of the Twelfth Session—Prorogation of the Session, 141, 142. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session, 143—152. Of the Fourteenth Session, 152—157. Of the Fifteenth Session, 158—162. Of the Sixteenth Session, 162—171. Of the Seventeenth Session, 171—179. Of the Eighteenth Session, 179—193. Of the Nineteenth Session, 194—204. Of the Twentieth Session, 204—210. Of the Twenty-first Session, 211—224. Of the Twenty-second Session, 224—241. Of the Twenty-third Session, 241—279. Of the Twenty-fourth Session, 279—305. Of the Twenty-fifth Session, 305—321. Number of persons present at it, 315—Remarks on their characters, 322 and *note*, 323. Confirmation of this council, 313—359. Observations on the importance of its proceedings, *Pref.* xviii.—xxiii.

Valladolid, account of the Auto de Fé at, 334—340.

Vargas (Franscisco), genuineness of the letters of, 144, 145, *notes*. His account of the rulers of the Council of Trent, 145. Of the proceedings of the Thirteenth Session, 147, 148. Of the Fourteenth Session, 153. His observations on the safe-conduct granted to the protestants, 161, 162.

Vergerio's Invective against the Council of Trent, notice of, 167 and *note*.

Versions of Scripture, dispute in the Council of Trent concerning, 57, 58. The Latin Vulgate version decreed to be the only authentic one, 60. Disputes concerning the correction of it, 65, 66. Discrepancies between the Sixtine and Clementine editions, 67 and *note* †.

Vicenza, a council convened at, 14. But removed to TRENT, 15.

Visconti, papal nuntio at the Council of Trent, instructions to, on being sent ambassador to the King of Spain, 297, 298, 299. Notice of his Letters to the Roman See, *Pref.* xiv.

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(2)

SUPPLEMENT

TO

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COUNCIL OF TRENT,

PRINCIPALLY DERIVED FROM

MANUSCRIPT AND UNPUBLISHED RECORDS, &c.

1834.

BY

THE REV. JOSEPH MENDHAM, M.A.

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SUPPLEMENT,

&c. &c.

Page v.

In the Note respecting Aquilinius.

This author is supposed, under a fictitious name, to be the third of the historians of the Council of Trent, whom he criticises, Scipio Henricus, Doctor of Theology in the Academy of Messina, in his Censura, &c. Diling. 1654. See Gendesii Florilegium under *Aquilinius*, ed. 1763. The reviewer of himself, and the other two historians, ventures to suggest that large additions were made to Fra Paolo's history by Antonio de Dominis, who had the charge of getting it through the press in London; and that those passages may be distinguished by the ease with which they may be withdrawn, without destroying the continuity of the narrative. They are described as being digressions expressive of Protestant sentiments. This criticism, however, is very ambiguous, as the author, by an afterthought, may have added the passages himself. pp. 44—46. J. G. Walch refers to authors who doubt the identity of Henricus and Aquilinius, grounded principally upon the occasional censures of the former by the latter; but this might be a blind. Bib. Theol. Select. tom. iii. pp. 863, 4.

Page vi.

In the Note concerning the sources of Fra Paolo's information, I have to observe—

That Courager, on whose representation I depended, has not done justice to the statement given in Fulgentio's life of the

historian, of the advantages possessed by him by his intimacy with Oliva, and the communications of Du Ferrier. My edition of the life is that printed in Venetia, 1658, 12mo. pp. 201. The particular pages for the account are 9, 10, and 86—8. The original of a portion of a letter of the historian, which I could only give in a translation by Brown at the time, is—'Hò letto già il catechismo di Pasquier, hò veduto ancora la revisione del Concilio, & il bureau, & li atti, se vi fusse altra scrittura che tratasse di tal materia, mi sarebbe grata, perche io ne hò scritto qualche cosa di più raccolta da altre memorie, che potuto ritrovar in queste parti.' Verona, 1673.

Page xvi.

The fac-simile of the autograph signature of Card. Pallavicino, which is presented in the plate at p. 324, will show with what truth it is said of the letters of this individual to his friends, which he left behind him, that, like the present, they were 'scritte d'altrui mano, perchè la sua non era leggibile.' Lettere del Card. S. Pallavicino, Venezia, 1825, in the biographical Discorso prefixed, p. 16.

Page xvii. line 6.

Where selections from the Declarations of the Council of Trent are mentioned.

These selections, to the number of six, in six distinct works, were formally condemned by a decree of the Congregation of the Index, June 6, 1621, as publications of what had better be kept secret, (in tenebris delituisse consultius fuisset,) and against the constitution of Pius IV., under the heaviest penalties; although one of the compilers, Augustine Barbosa, was proto-notary apostolic, and *consultor of the Congregation of the Index*, and, besides being an Italian bishop, an eminently learned canonist. Anton. Bibl. Hisp. iii. 173, &c.

This, however, did not prevent the whole being published in Rome, 1821 !

Page xxv.

Of the expressed and believed intention of the Church of Rome to publish the *Acts* of the Council, there is a curious confirmation in a letter occurring in the Tabularium Ecc. Rom. Seculi XVI. Part ii. Num. clxxiii. p. 343, ab E. S. Cypriano, from Francis Lombard, a Neapolitan, a secular theologian at the Council of Trent, and a friend of Seripando, to another of the legates, Hosius:—'Jam summus Pontifex mandavit patrono meo, ut curam habeat imprimendæ synodi Tridentinæ, quæ typis *D. P. Manutii* excudetur quam cito. Postea alio volumine universa historia.' I owe this quotation to J. C. Koecheri, Bibl. Theol. Symb. &c. p. 392. It may, however, still be a question whether the officially intimated publication of the Acts was ever intended for any other purpose (which it certainly was calculated, in a great degree, to answer) than of preventing all others.

Page 9.

In continuation of the Note respecting the Centum Gravamina of the Diet of Nuremburg.

Zuingle, in the place referred to, had just before been accusing the princes and nobles of Germany as the authors of the disturbances which happened at the Reformation, because, when they found wealth pouring into the monasteries, they appropriated the lucrative stations in them to themselves and their families. Referring, then, to the Diet which had just been assembled, (for his work is dated 1525,) he dwells explicitly, and at some length, on the celebrated *Grievances* then drawn up, which, however, he is so far from ascribing to any infusion of Lutheran feeling, that he treats the whole as an insidious contrivance to acquire so much of popular reputation as would secure the whole system of abuse then in practice,

and which was maintained by aid of the papal tyranny. As a strong presumption that this was the fact, he asserts that the plaintiffs had full power to redress every article of their grievances, had they been sincere in the wish so to do. We are not concerned with the truth of this hypothesis. All that is here required is, what we have, a clear testimony to the genuineness of the document in question, and to the correctness of its contents. At all events, *some* of the complainants were probably sincere. Herman Conringius, in his edition of the Via Regia of G. Wicelius, Helmstad. 1650, has given the Centum Gravamina at the end; and, in a short notice prefixed, has adverted to the supposition derived from Surius, as he presumes, that they were produced by Protestant influence. The vision he dispels, both by a reference to Claude d'Espense, who, in his well-known Digressio 2da in his Commentary on Titus, ch. i. ver. 7, expressly appealing to the document in question, gives the substance of several of the articles, without the slightest surmise of Protestant interference; and likewise by the concurrent evidence afforded by the proceedings of the Diet on this subject compared with each other—the Instructio by the Pope, Adrian VI., to his legate, the Answer of the princes, and the Replication of the legate. Romanists, wherever their church's honour is concerned, are in the habit of catching at any chance of escape or apparent justification;—there certainly never was a more miserably hopeless one than this. I cannot refrain from adding the testimony of another very competent and contemporary witness—the eccentric but acute H. Corn. Agrippa, in his book De Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. de arte lenonia, (numbered in modern editions—I quote the first, in 1530—lxiv.,) towards the end. Referring to the notorious profligacy allowed and encouraged in and by the church and court of Rome, he adds—Quæ omnia tam manifesta sunt atque frequentia, ut nescire cogamur, Episcoporumne impudentia, an plebis patientia hactenus fuerit ineptior: ut

tandem opus fuerit Germaniæ principibus inter cætera nationis illius gravamina hæc quoque deferre, ex quibus quæ hic silentio premuntur elicere poteritis. Agrippa was a firm believer in Transubstantiation, and a sound calumniator of the heretic Luther. See a little before, and for Transubstantiation the chapter de Imaginibus.

Page 10. First Note.

I find I had confounded the *Judgment* of the Convocation with the King's *Protestation* on the Pope's appointing Mantua for the projected council. The protestation is a separate document, and is condemned in the Index of Paul IV. under R. Regis and Senatus Anglici, &c. The first edition in Latin is among the rarest of books, and unnoticed by any bibliographer. I obtained a copy from Mr. Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836. The full title is—Illustrissimi ac Potentissimi Regis, Senatus, Populiq; Angliæ, sententia, et de eo Concilio, quod Paulus episcopus Rom. Mantuæ futurum simulavit: et de ea bulla, quæ ad calendas Novembres id prorogarit. *Colophon:* Londini in Ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti Regii Impress. An. M.D.XXXVII., cum Privilegio, 8vo., 19 folia. It appeared in an English form, (whether original or translated,) by the same printer, in the same year. In the next, 1538, it was reprinted, both in Latin and in English, by the same printer, preceded by *another* Royal Protestation against the new appointment of Vicenza for the meeting of the council. A reprint of this second protestation, issued from Witeberg in 1539, is likewise in my possession. It is called an Epistle: the title is—Serenissimi et Inclyti Regis Angliæ Henrici Octavi, &c. Epistola de synodo Vincentina, 1539, 7 folia, 8vo. Both these documents are nearly transferred into Foxe's Acts, &c., ii. 310, &c., and 367, &c., last edition. Neither of them appear in Le Plat's collection, most probably from ignorance—

indeed the last seems to have escaped the vigilance of the Roman censors. There is a great deal of ability and causticity in both. The first, which contains the main substance of the argument, is very similar, as might be expected, to the protestation drawn up on the same occasion, and in the same year, March 5, by the heads of the Protestants in Germany; and that may be seen in Le Plat. The production of our king is well worth reading; and I will supply a specimen of it in Foxe's English. After giving his holiness full credit for artifice and selfishness in announcing the council, and declaring his own readiness to favour one, which should be general, free, holy, and impartial; the king adds, of the Pope and his—'They think we do them wrong because we 'will not suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see 'their merchandise to be banished, to be forbidden. They see 'that we will buy no longer chalk for cheese. They see 'they have lost a fair fleece, vengeable sorry that they can 'despatch no more pardons, dispensations, totquots, with the 'rest of their baggage and trumpery. England is no more a 'babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they 'do foolishly that give gold for lead, more weight of that than 'they receive of this. They pass not, though Peter and Paul's 'faces be graven in the lead, to make fools fain.' Soon after, his holiness is twitted with the practice of giving a little, that he may gain more. In answer to the past allowance of the primacy to the Pope, the king observes—'We hear them 'well: we gave it you, indeed. If you have authority upon us 'as long as our consent giveth it you, and you evermore will 'make your plea upon our consent, then let it have even an end 'where it began; we consent no longer, your authority must 'needs be gone. If we, being deceived by false pretence of 'evil-alleged Scripture, gave to you that ye ought to have refused, 'why may we not, our error now perceived, and your deceit 'espied, take it again?' And more to the same purpose, which,

if no unlimited promise were made, is all perfectly legal. The suggestion of *National Councils*, towards the end, would be physic to his holiness.

Page 11.

The passage from line 15 *to* 23, *beginning Consilium, and ending consilium, I wish to alter thus—*

Consilium Delectorum Cardinalium, et aliorum Prælatorum, de emendanda Ecclesia, S. D. N. D. Paulo III. ipso jubente conscriptum, et exhibitum Anno M.D.XXXVII. The arms of that pontiff are in the title-page of the edition before me; and the colophon is—Imprimebatur anno M.D.XXXVIII. It occupies ten leaves. It does not appear to be the same edition as is mentioned by Cardinal Quirini, in a passage quoted from him by Schelhorn, in a work about to be referred to, more particularly p. 9; since it is there said to be printed with the same types as were used by Antonius Bladus in his edition of the Index of Paul IV., and those types are throughout Italic, while those of the Consilium under consideration are throughout Roman. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the edition which I possess and here describe is a genuine original Roman edition, and either the first or second of the same year. I am likewise in possession of another edition in a small form, printed at Antwerp in the same year by John Steelsius, with the variation in the title-page of concilium for consilium, and of M.D.XXXVIII for M.D.XXXVII—both mistakes.

Page 14.

At the year 1535 may be introduced an additional effort at self-reformation in the Church of Rome, produced by the demands of the times, and connected with the council in prospect—the Reformed Breviary put forth by Card. F. Quignon. In this year a preparatory copy was *printed*, and sent to the Faculty of Theology in Paris for its judgment. In D'Argentre's Collect. Jud. ii, pp. 121-6, that judgment

appears. The Faculty met on the 27th of July, 1535, when the reasons of the body for the non-reception of the new Breviary were read and adopted. These are, principally, the proposed *omissions* in the histories of the Saints, and minor portions of the service, but particularly the derogation from the honour of the Virgin Mary, the Advocate of all the faithful, by dismissing altogether her Horæ, and the dread of progressive and interminable alterations. The Breviary itself was reprinted and published in its approved form in 1536 or 1537, at Rome. I have an edition printed at Venice in the latter year, and likewise another in 1540. It is preceded by a remarkable Preface addressed to the pontiff, Paul III., which purports that it was undertaken at the suggestion (hortatu) of Clemens VII., and edited by the desire (voluntate) of his present holiness; that, in consequence of suggestions from various sources, it had undergone alterations of a minor description; that when the editor considered the reasons for the obligation of the clergy to recite the canonical hours daily—their meriting thereby for the people, the importance of their not being found by the devil unemployed, and their becoming qualified to instruct—it seemed expedient that more of the Scripture should be introduced, that the histories of the saints should be purified from their barbarism, and that the general perplexity in order should be remedied. Clement encouraged him to carry the desired reformation into effect by providing for the more copious reading of the Scripture, and the removal of the lengthiness, which produced negligence in the readings of the existing Breviaries. The office of the B. V. would bear removal, as she was enough attended to without it, and the cardinal thought she herself would approve the measure. Many of the histories of the saints were introduced by the temerity of individuals, and were, by anticipation, condemned by Pope Gelasius himself. Upon the whole, therefore, this new Breviary should be considered as a Restitution.

The Licence of Paul III. to the printer, quite approving the work, gives permission to the clergy to use it, and to omit the old, on obtaining faculties for that purpose from the holy See, July 3, 1536. The condemnation of this Breviary, approved by two preceding inerrable heads of the church, by a successor as inerrable, is well known. When the council had closed, the storm had blown over. In Zaccaria's Bibl. Rituale, i. 110-4, will be found an account, with little original, of the reformed Breviary, and pp. 115-9 of that which superseded it by Pius V. The two rather long lists—the 1st, of Histories of the Saints, *revised*, 2nd, of the Histories *restored*—are curious, and worth attention. They are, however, borrowed from the Life of Julio Poggiano, prefixed to the second volume of the collected works of that eminent scholar, edited by Lagomarsini, 1756.

Page 17.

Of the unfortunate child, Simonetto, said to be put to death by the Jews, and made a saint, there are records accessible enough in Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints, and his references, March 24. But it may just be added, as a curiosity, that a small volume on the subject was published, and appeared in the IInd Part of the Catalogue of Mr. Heber's books, dispersed in 1834, Art. 5905—Symeon Puer. De Infantulo in civitate Tridentina per Judæos rapto atque in vilipendium Christianæ Religionis crudelissime necato. *Roma, Guldinbeck*, 1475, 4to. The book is mentioned by Panzer in its place, and I have seen more on the same subject. I am, indeed, myself in possession of what is considered the most authentic relation of the story, entitled—*Joannes Mathias Tuberinus Lib. art. et medicine doctor rectoribus senatui populoq : brixiano.* fol. Frid. Creusner [Nuremburg] 1475. Four Jews in Trent conspired, on the 21st of March that year, (which would be, as it is expressed, Tuesday,) to steal a Christian child for the purpose of immolation, on the Friday next, or

Good Friday. This was, if we believe the writer, (for he offers no proof,) accomplished. The child was slaughtered on the 24th of March, and transfixed in various places, with accompanying wishes, that, as they killed the God of the Christians, so all their enemies might be eternally confounded. They then cast the body into the river, where it ran under their house, giving it out that it was carried by the stream, till stopped by the grating near their premises. But the truth was divulged by miracles, (what, is not said;) and the thus convicted Jews were thrown into prison and punished. Alban Butler says they were broke upon the wheel, and burnt. The reader, however, who wishes to form a just estimate of papal fidelity in this instance, as well as obtain some information with respect to the story, may consult the able and convincing Vindiciæ Ecc. Ang. of R. Southey, Esq., p. 417, with his references. He will learn, in particular, what is the value of Mr. Alban Butler's assertions in the book referred to. That farrago of truth and falsehood, piety and superstition, has lately obtained stereotype facilities of dissemination; honest Alban, however, has made two or three mistakes. He has mistaken the year of the birth of the infant, 1472, for the year of his martyrdom, 1475; he has made Simon *about* two years old when he was *above*; and he has converted the kidnapper into a *physician*, the profession of the narrator, Tuberinus—not Tiberinus. But the innocent victim was honoured with many miracles—that was enough. There is a very curious representation of the transaction in a wood-cut in the Nuremburg Chronicle, ed. 1493, fol. cclliii. verso.

Page 19.

The Diet of Worms there referred to assembled in May of 1545. See Dupin, XVIth Century, Ch. xxix. Cardinal Farnese was there with the Emperor. In a collection of Letters of the XVIth century, edited by B. F. Hummel, Halæ, 1780,

there occurs, p. 117, an anonymous one to an uncertain person, dated S. Viti, (Jun. 15,) 1545, which contains a fact—Cardinalis Farnesius, qui fuit Wormatiæ, discessit iterum; qui cum peteret a Carolo Imp. ut promitteret se decreta Consilii Tridentini amplexurum esse, Carolus Imperator se obligare noluit.

Page 42, line 2.

For *they*, read, the *fathers*.

Page 61.

When I say that Jerome's Prologus Galeatus is prudently omitted in the Tridentine editions of the Vulgate, I mean the first two, published as the authentic text, by the opponent pontiffs, Sixtus V. and Clemens VIII. The one immediately following, in 1593, Romæ, Ex Typ. Apost. Vat. 4to., does indeed restore the Prologue: but apparently as an afterthought, since the catchword immediately preceding it, *Liber*, answers, not to the first word of the Prologue, but to that of the commencement of the Bible itself, *Liber Genesis*. Subsequent editions have it, I believe, commonly.

Page 65.

For *they continue*, read, *the writer continues*.

Page 69.

Chioggia's dismissal from the Council is mentioned by Vergerio as having followed his own. Ejiciebatur post me alius quoque, nempe Jacobus Nachiantes Fossæ Clodiæ Episcopus. Cum enim legeretur Decretum tertiæ [quartæ] sessionis, pie, et summa modestia dixit, sibi dura videri verba, mutuata scilicet ex C. Ecclesiasticarum XI. Distin. in quibus dicebatur, eodem pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipiendas ac venerandas esse eas, quas Papistæ vocant TRADITIONES, qua ipsummet Evangelium: nihil enim esse quod cum Evangelio conferri

ullo modo possit. at duntaxat propter hoc jussus est a Legatis Tridento discedere, et Romam petere, si forte Papa vellet illi ignoscere, quòd tam fuisset temerarius, qui Decreto ab ipsomet Papa Romæ concinnato ausus fuisset contradicere. Ep. ad Reg. Pol. Opp. tom. i. foll. 119, 120. Vid. et Dial. I. de Osio. Ib. fol. 140. Tubingæ, M.D.LXIII.

Page 76.

Alter the last sentence of the last note thus :—

The last proper date of the book is the day of the seventh session, March 3, 1547; so that the following 1st of March must be 1548.

Page 81, line 13.

Veletri *should be* Trevilla.

Trevillas—'an agreeable country-seat, called *Trevilla*, in the neighbourhood of that city (Padua), which belonged to his friend Priuli,' &c.—[Phillips's] Life of Pole, 2d ed. vol. i. p. 417. The writer, who answers, except feebly, none of his answerers, is enough annoyed by one in particular to exert himself to do away the impression that the illness of the legate was feigned, in order to avoid getting into difficulties on the subject under consideration—that of Justification. The letter to which he appeals is inconclusive, and does not touch the epistolary evidence produced by Pye. That writer, in his answer to Phillips, pp. 62—4, in a note upon the departure and pretence of Pole, in his original, Beccatelli, writes—'Of 'this rheumatic defluxion (which T. PHILLIPS calls a *catarrh* 'in his arm*) it may be said, in the words of JUVENAL,—

'"Provida POMPEIO dederat CAMPANIA febres
Optandos."

'Whether POLE's sickness was pretended, is needless to argue;

* In the last edition the *catarrh in his arm* is altered into *an indisposition*.

'it is demonstration, his colleagues thought him too hasty in 'quitting TRENT, and imputed it to some shyness on the 'Article of Justification.

'Cardinal Santa Croce writes thus to MAFFEI, 25 June, '1546:—"Cardinal POLE, I find, designs to set out imme- "diately for *Trevilla*, having got the Pope's leave: *but we*, "*though we have not less occasion than himself for a little* "*respite and change of air, are resolved nevertheless to* "*attend the debate on the Article of Justification.*"—Trans- 'lation of part of an Italian letter, from the *Minutes* of what 'passed at Trent in 1545 and 1546—being C. Santa Croce's 'own register, found in a MS. of his family's. Quirini, 'vol. iv. p. 277.

'To explain this point more fully, from an examination of 'the Italian letters, and minutes of the proceedings at Trent, 'published in four vols., Quirini—*The Article of Justification* 'came on in the Council 21st June, 1546. The Card. SANTA 'CROCE tells MAFFEI, on the 25th, that POLE was setting out '*presto* for *Trevilla*, where we find him, by his own letter to 'his colleagues, July the 1st. On the 30th of June, they write 'to him for his opinion on that question, which he waives an- 'swering, for three reasons, "*per rispetto dell' absentia*, "*insufficientia, ed indispositione*," and desires them to com- 'municate their future commands *viva voce* by the Bishop of '*Worcester*. On the 26th of September, the Bishop of *Wor- 'cester* had either brought or sent POLE a copy of the decree, 'according to his own desire; he then excuses himself a 'second time, "*non li essendo concesso d'interrogare, e* "*d'esser instrutto di molte cose, oltre che sono si gravato* "*dalla mia indispositione che sono mal atto a pensar* (non "che a scriver) *in materia di questa importanza.*" He then 'promises, after so much importunity, to send his opinion *viva* '*voce* in a few days, which he does 18 Oct. 1546, by one Dr. 'MORIGLIA, *suo familiare*.

'These *letters* seem fully to refute the notion T. PHILLIPS 'has taken up, of supposing the decree on that article to have 'been finally drawn up, and finished as it passed the Council, 'by POLE, (on account of a transcript of it being found among 'his papers, and published by H. PENING,) since it appears '*he would never once write his opinion* upon that article, 'though expressly solicited so to do, but only gave his senti- 'ments upon it *viva voce* by MORIGLIA.

'Lettere Italiene, 184, *et seq.* Quirini, vol. iv. Phillips's 'Life of Pole, vol. i. p. 369, [2d ed. pp. 416, *et seq.*]

'There are many more passages (among the XXXII. *Ita- 'lian Letters* published from a MS. of C. S. CROCE's by QUI- 'RINI) which discover an earnestness in the two other legates 'for POLE's return to *Trent*, and a displeasure at his protracted 'stay; and a peevishness in him on their frequent remon- 'strances, as well as an unwillingness to return again to the 'Council. (See the IX. XVI. XIX. XXIII.)'

I have transcribed this passage, though rather long, both because the work from which it is taken is not very common, and because it admirably illustrates the mode of proceeding in the rulers of the Council, and the settlers, at the time, of the presumed Catholic faith.

Page 99, at the end of the Note.

There is a letter of some curiosity in the Semicenturia Epistt. Sæc. XVI., by B. F. Hummel. Halæ, 1778, pp. 66, 67. It is one of Vitus Theodorus, with no date, placed, however, in the order after Aug. 17, 1547, Nuremburg, and to an uncertain person. It notices the Article of Justification, as *composed* in the Tridentine Council, thus:—Vidimus articulum de justificatione in concilio Tridentino compositum. Omnia sunt similia Malvendæ disputationibus Ratisbonæ (in 1546). Fide, dicunt incipi justificationem, absolvi gratia. Peccatis, dicunt, amitti gratiam, fidem non. Diserte dicunt, adulteros,

masculorum concubitores esse fideles. Anathemati subjiciunt, si qui statuant, se esse in gratia. Anathemate quoque illos feriunt, qui dubitant. Hanc propositionem his ipsis verbis ponunt: Anathema esse, qui neget, deum per se efficere, ut Judas Christum prodat. Hæc pauca sufficiunt, &c. This representation agrees neither with that just given, nor the ultimate decree and canons. It was probably one of the forms given out; and I suspect the letter is placed too late.

Page 108.

At the end of Session VI.

Milner, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. 4, part i. pp. 347, 348, has expressed himself as if, in the conference between Luther and Cajetan, (as the latter is usually called,) Cajetan, with reference to the doctrine of Justification, had admitted, that, were the opposition to Indulgences withdrawn, all other differences might be amicably settled. He quotes no authority for the assertion, and the only one he could quote is Seckendorf, who, in writing on the subject, (Comm. p. 47,) plainly describes the matter in question to be, not Justification, but the necessity of faith in the Sacraments. The champion of Rome, indeed, was incapable of making the proposal as relative to Justification; for, however light in the esteem of his church was any doctrine simply considered, the abandonment of the doctrine of *human merit*, an essential ingredient in the Protestant doctrine, would have touched far other and higher interests than spiritual ones.

Page 114.

At the beginning of the paragraph, which belongs to the beginning of 1547, some purpose of the Pope relative to Reform is referred to. The author, who is followed there, expresses himself more strongly than is represented in the text. Paul III. drew up a

bull, 'Avvocando a se la materia della riforma.' The legates in their answer advised his holiness to confine himself to his own court. Sarpi ii. 88, in Courayer, has the transaction more at length. Pallavicino, cavilling at him, Ist. ix. 10., says, that *two* bulls, or breves, were prepared; one at the beginning of the preceding year, 1546, which is recognised by a letter of the legates, at the beginning of Session IV. p. 48; and the other at the beginning of 1547, meaning the end of 1546, as we shall see. The legates, however, made no use of the latter, which was much enlarged. We need no more attention to Pallavicino's quibbles; and the only reason for introducing the subject at all is, that the *bull* itself, (for such it is,) has never publicly appeared till that favour was done the learned world by Dr. H. N. Clausen of Copenhagen, in 1830, in a work entitled—Bulla Reformationis Paul III. ad Hist. C. T. pert. concepta non vulgata. Ex Cod. MS. Neap. descriptam, nunc primum edidit annotationibusque illustravit. Haun. 1830. He found the MS. in the Royal Bourbon Library, and transcribed it; it occupies 20 full 4to pages. After the usual beginning, it complains of the slow progress of the council, though it had accomplished the Scriptures, Original Sin, and Justification; and then proposes to correct abuses in the court. It is chiefly occupied with abundant regulations in the interminable field of papal ecclesiastical matters—age of prelates—benefices of all descriptions—dispensations—graces expectative and others—government of hospitals and religious houses—habilitations—tithes, &c. &c., ending with powers committed to patriarchs, &c., revocation of preceding concessions, enforcement of residence, &c. 11 Kal. Jan. 1546; Pont. nost. anno 13, or Dec. 22, 1546. The Editor has justly remarked in this document—abundant pretermission—equal ambiguity—and careful evasion of all effectual reformation. The notes are satisfactory and valuable, particularly that on Indulgences, where he has produced the Jesuitic remark of Pallavicino on the subject, that

some good things (!) on account of the preponderating evils, which may be the accidental result, deserve to be abolished. The spoilt trade of Indulgences required no little management. We might have these good things now, if Luther had not lived.

Page 139, line 11 from bottom,

Read *Siponto.*

Page 145, end of Note.

The reader will find important information and criticism, both in Schramm's Latin edition of Le Vassor's work, Brunsvigæ, 1704, particularly his own Address to the reader; and in Schelhorn's Amœn. Hist. Ecc. ii. 441, &c., where a corroborating account is given of the state and fortunes of the Card. de Granvelle's collections, and a just rebuke is passed upon the transparent sophistries of the Jesuits of Trevoux, in derogation of Vargas's Letters.

Page 146.

After the recital of the two Canons on the Eucharist.

Some light is thrown upon this portion of the council, by a small publication, which has some title to the character of original intelligence. It is an annual, or nearly so, beginning in 1791, and finished in 24 numbers in 1815, published at Göttingen by the Prorector of the Academy, then (as I find by Naebe, in his Compend. Hist. Ecc., 422) G. Jac. Planck. The subject is—*Anecdota ad Hist. Conc: Trid. pertinentia;* and purports to have been extracted from MSS. in the Royal Library. They have never appeared before, not even in Le Plat's collection; and, being little known in this country, may stand as representations of the MSS. themselves. In Fascicul. VII. is a copy of the Canons, xiii. in number, proposed for discussion, previously to the Session, together with the judgment upon them of Fred. Nausea, one of the ambassadors of

Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and Bp. of Vienne. The 1st Canon had at the close 'Anathema Maranatha.' Nausea objected to the last word on grammatical grounds, and it was expunged. The 2nd Canon, near the beginning, added the words, aut secundum execrabiles et profanas vocum novitates Christum Impanatum esse dixerit. This does not appear in the Canon, as it was settled at the Session. But the most remarkable circumstance is, the censure of the ambassador upon the use of the term Transubstantiation, which he objects to, 'since it is not sufficiently known how ancient the fathers are who used it, nor whether the universal Church used it farther back than three hundred years.' Siquidem tum quia non satis scitur, quam sint antiqui patres illi nostri, qui hoc vocabulo transubstantiationis usi sint, nec constat certo, num universa catholica ecclesia sic adpellaverit hanc mirabilem versionem panis et vini utpote transubstantiationem quam vel ideo voculam esse recentem et vix trecentariam dicunt, quia latinis illis autoribus in usu non fuerit illa, sed ab illatinis inventa potius. The council assented but in part. This criticism proves that truth could not be altogether excluded from the council. The XIII. canons were, by different division and otherwise, reduced to XI.

Page 147.

Of the safe conduct proposed for the Protestants, Nausea, in the censure last referred to, writes—

Videtur mihi, legitimam illis jure securitatem húc veniendi et agendi, quæ tam ipsis quam nobis percommoda et necessaria fuerint, negari nec posse nec deberi, ne si illa ipsis negaretur, justissimam deinde sint habituri conquerendi causam, quominus in hac Synodo comparuerint.

Page 149.

Where the papal argument for Transubstantiation, as standing on the same scriptural foundation as the Trinity, is adverted to.

That Romanists resort to this as an argument, is a sad proof to what desperate extremes they will go in support of a favourite idol. The best answer, both in itself, and *ad hominem*, is contained in [Stillingfleet's] Doctrine of the Trin. and Transub. compared, Part II., pp. 21-23, ed. 1688. The author there produces Bellarmine, firstly, as proving the divinity of Christ from Scripture in the usual way, Disput. de Christo, l. i. capp. 4-6 Tom. i. coll. 240-266, ed. Parisiis, 1613—at considerable length, of course, although a part is occupied with answers to objections. For the doctrine of Transubstantiation the cardinal can produce but one testimony from Scripture; and he is compelled to admit that there may be no place in Scripture so express and clear for Transubstantiation as that the learned may not doubt whether it is to be found there, setting aside the Church's declaration. Ib. de Euch. l. iii. capp. 19 et 23. Tom. iii. col. 557. The original here deserves quoting, as the sense only is given—SECUNDO dicit, [Kemnitius,] non extare locum ullum scripturæ tam expressum, ut sine Ecclesiæ declaratione evidenter cogat transubstantionem admittere. Atque id non est omnino, improbabile. Nam etiamsi scriptura, quam nos supra adduximus, videatur nobis tam clara, ut possit cogere hominem non protervum: tamen an ita sit, meritó dubitari potest, cum homines doctissimi et sanctissimi, qualis imprimis Scotus fuit, contrarium sentiant.

Page 151.

After the sentence respecting the Eucharist, and the only two possible meanings of the word IS—'but in neither is there conversion,' *add*—

The verb substantive, Matt. xxvi. 26, must express the change imagined by Rome, if it be expressed at all; for to suppose the change to have taken place *before* the words of consecration, is perfectly gratuitous. The demonstrative pronoun, τοῦτό, although of different gender from the antecedent, *bread*, is, by common usage, and by circumstances, restricted to it, agreeably to the admission of Bellarmine himself.—See Wake, Defence of Exposition, pp. 54—66. The Ethiopic version expresses the reference to bread, as the antecedent; and the Syriac, although rendered in the neuter by Walton, is, as a friend acquainted with the language informs me, to the same effect. The word in Hebrew letters is הַנָּן, the masculine gender, agreeing with לַחְמָא. It is not, however, a simple word, but compounded of the demonstrative masculine pronoun הָנָא, and the personal masculine הוּ, which latter has, in constructions of this sort, the force of the verb substantive: so that the *literal* rendering of the passage would be, 'hic ille [panis] corpus meum;' but its real grammatical import, 'hic [panis] est corpus meum.' There is, in Syriac, no demonstrative pronoun of the neuter or common gender; but the feminine הָדָא is often employed in the abstract to denote things without life, &c., corresponding pretty nearly with the Greek τουτο or ταυτα, and is, in fact, so employed in the parallel passages, where the phrase, 'This do in remembrance of me,' occurs; but never in the words denoting *bread* or *cup*.—It is very observable, that, in the case of a true conversion, or transubstantiation, effected by our Lord at Cana, the miraculous

change of the water into the wine is properly expressed by the word γεγενημενον—'the water which was *made* wine,' John ii. 9; and doubtless, had the same change been intended in the Lord's Supper, the word expressing it would have been γινεται. Yet even then it would lie open to fair criticism, whether the change were *material* or *spiritual*. Well might Bellarmine acknowledge that the only direct evidence for the doctrine of his church on this point was the decision of that church herself!—See, as before, Stillingfleet, Doctrine of Trinity and Trans. compared, Part II. p. 23, referring to Bellarmine, de Euch. iii. xxiii.

Page 157, line 11.

The profligate irreverence towards Scripture in the thoroughly papalized mind is strikingly exemplified in a vindication of the impurities of the Roman confessional by a person signing himself William O'Neill Daunt, as I learn from a triumphant answer to the same by the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee, in the Dublin Evening Mail, June 20, 1836. As long as human nature is as it is, and human crime continues, there will be a propriety, nearly amounting to necessity, for faithful and even detailed records of the same, as well as laws to take cognizance of them, in order to prevention, restraint, or punishment, which, in a free or just government, cannot well be otherwise than public. It is freely admitted that in such publicity there is a positive evil, or risk: but the evil, as in many human cases, is a necessary one—demanding, however, in all who have the custody whether of public or private morals, such prudence and precaution as, in all practicable ways, to obviate the danger, where it may with most probability be anticipated. This is precisely the ground on which Scripture stands, and the ground on which it is effectually justifiable; and no mind but the most depraved can identify, or draw into anything like proximate resemblance, *this* case and *that* of the vitious and

vitiating regulations of the Romish Confessional, with the *compulsory* obligation of confession, — the infamously curious and defiling particularization detailed and enjoined by those regulations; the purposes for which they are evidently designed; the manner in which they are and must be carried into execution; and the obvious and almost necessary tendency to corrupt or annihilate the moral sense, as well as to harden the conscience, both in the contemplation and the commission of crime. I pity the morality of the man who does not, or will not, see the diametrical opposition of the two cases.

Page 160, at the end of the Note.

From a MS. in the Royal Library of Göttingen, in the Anecdota ad Hist. C. T. pert., already referred to, Nr. x., purporting to be a letter of F. Nausea to King Ferdinand, giving an account of the reception of the ambassadors of the Elector of Saxony, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, we are enabled to correct the mistake of the 25th of January, as the day of their audience. The day was the 24th, and a Sunday, (which was the case in 1552, the Dominical letter for that part of the bissextile year being C, which falls on the 24th of January.) It corrects likewise the mistake, of no great importance, that the Saxons were heard first; since the contrary was the fact. Both the couples of ambassadors are represented as having been highly intemperate in their charges against the council; and the Saxon, in particular, as having demanded that its preceding enactments should be reconsidered (*retractarentur*). The writer accordingly congratulates himself that they were not heard in the cathedral in public session. The letter ends with an affecting account of the illness with which himself had been seized; and which from history we learn to have been fatal. He died within a week. The date of the letter is Jan. 30, 1552.

Page 161.

Where the safe conduct to the Protestants is mentioned, and the disclaimer therein of any advantage to be taken from the Councils of Constance and Sienna.

It is hardly possible to conceive a more precise and conclusive recognition, as a standing law of the Roman church, of the right, and even obligation, of breaking faith with heretics, *whenever the interests of that church require such breach*, than the form of expression used by the council on this occasion. She does not pretend that the meaning of the two obnoxious councils was misunderstood—she does not rescind or abrogate the enactments particularly objected to—but quietly admitting, and so most forcibly confirming, the truth of their acceptation by the objecting party, she contents herself with suspending them *for the present turn*—quibus *in hac parte pro hac vice derogat.* The perfidious murder of Huss was villainous enough; but the palmary iniquity of Constance was, the decree by which the act was *justified*, and *corroborated* as a law of the church.

Page 162.

At the end of Session XV.

It should not be omitted, that at this time it was meditated by Cranmer, our primate and reformer, to convoke a Synod in England, for the purpose of counteracting the antichristian proceedings at Trent. This is directly asserted in a letter of Cranmer to Bullinger, first printed from Mr. Salomon Hess's copy of the manuscript at Zurich by Mr. Jenkyns, in his very valuable *Remains of Cranmer*, i. 344, dated Lambeth, March 20, 1552. His words are, after telling Bullinger that it needed not be suggested to him to advise his majesty not to send an ambassador to Trent, which he never thought of, sed potius consilium dandum esse duxi, ut quemadmodum adversarii

nostri nunc Tridenti habent sua concilia ad errores confirmandos; ita ejus pietas auxilium suum præbere dignaretur, ut in Anglia, aut alibi, doctissimorum et optimorum virorum Synodus convocaretur, in qua de puritate ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ et præcipue de consensu controversiæ sacramentariæ tractaretur. He had written to Melancthon and Calvin to this purpose. And, indeed, there is extant, in Calvin's collected works, a letter of the same date, in which the archbishop repeats the suggestion. Calvin excuses himself from lending his personal assistance, although he wishes every success to the project. The project, however, in the extent contemplated, was abandoned, and for the future confined to national efforts.

Page 167, line 11.

Where mention is made of Pius IVth's application to different princes relative to a re-assembly of the Council in 1560.

On the subject of the pontiff's preparations for resuming the council in Trent, there is information of some curiosity in the Anecdota published at Göttingen relative to the council, Fascic. xvii. It is the answer of Ferdinand, the emperor, to the papal nuncio, respecting the terms in which the renewal of the council is proposed. It is not perfectly new, having been given at good length by Pallavicino in his History, XIV. xiii. 9—19, and from him copied by Le Plat. But the MS. presented by Planck is peculiar in giving the date, 20 Jun. 1560. This, by conjecture, is assigned to July or August by Le Plat. It has many corrections, and other marks of being a first draught; but it has likewise the peculiarity of having the most remarkable point of difficulty in the forefront—the consideration of the meditated convocation as a *continuation* of the council. This, it appears plainly enough by the sequel, was a matter of no small moment and delicacy; and the document, in the very first sentence, states the project of the

pontiff relative to the proposed celebration—*quod nimirum illud Tridenti prosequendum et continuandum censeat.* It happens that, in the MS. before us, the latter part is less diffuse than the published exhibitions; for, *there*, the imperial dictater of the answer enters into a rather extended objection to the word *continuation.* The subject is worth pursuing. The pontiff answered this paper in one dated Aug. 30, 1560, and which is found at length only in Raynaldus, from whom Le Plat has transcribed it*. His holiness there represents the emperor's objection to the word and thing as unimportant, or groundless. To this the emperor replied in a document, for the first transcript of which, from a coëval MS., we are indebted to the diligence of Schelhorn, Amœn. Eccles. ii. 477, *et seq.*; and there the emperor deliberately tells the pope that, should he persist in the article of *continuation*, binding, as it would, and was intended to do, all who should make a part of the new council, particularly the Protestants, he greatly feared that all the labours of his holiness and himself to induce those of the Augustan Confession to conform would be frustrated. There are other important topics in these documents; but that which is noticed is the most characteristic.

Page 168.

At the end of the note concerning Vergerio.

This indefatigable pursuer of the popes and their council did not give them much rest. Bound up in my copy with the second edition of the Actiones, and, although anonymous, plainly from the same pen, are—the Literæ Busdragi, in quibus agitur, Quanam ratione præservari possit Italia, ne Lutheranismo inficiatur. Datum Paduæ, 1558; apparently the only and unknown edition.—Ai Reverendissimi Vescovi della Italia che

* The date is supplied by Schelhorn, from a MS. inspected by him, in a place which will shortly be referred to.

per l'indittion di Pio Papa iiii. sono chiamati al Concilio di Trento. L'anno 1561.—Della Indittione del Concilio di Trento publicato da Pio Quarto. 1561. Proficient in pejus. In the first, and only, volume of his collected works, at Tubing, 1563, after the Actiones, the Consilium Bononiæ &c. (an evidently sportive fiction, or pasquinade)—Epistola ad Regem Poloniæ —Dialogi de Osio—Postremus Catalogus Hæreticorum, &c.— and particularly, Scholia in Binas Pauli IIII. literas, and De Concilio Papæ, &c. Pii IIII., refer to the same subjects, either professedly or incidentally. The two last pieces, and those specified before, more especially relating to the approaching re-opening of the council, are those to which the text has the most direct allusion.

Page 169.

At the end of the Note †, where the Venetian Milledoni's calumny respecting Beza is mentioned, add—

I cannot refrain from observing here, that however liberally and anti-papally the advocates of Venetian or Gallic liberties may talk or write, when their own interest, their independence, or selfishness, in any form, is concerned, yet with respect to those whom they esteem heretics, that is, all classes of seceders from the doctrine and sovereignty of Rome, they rival the fatuity and intolerance of the most bigoted Transalpine. Not even Fenelon, nor Pascal, nor the Portroyalists generally, are free from this blot. It is with pleasure I find this observation corroborated by one to the same effect from the powerful pen of Mr. Southey, in an article of the Quarterly Review, 1828, on the Roman Catholic Question, and repeated in his Essays, ii. 331, &c. He is combating, p. 401, &c., the common and superficial argument in favour of the tolerance of the Gallican church, from the resolution displayed in asserting its own liberties in opposition to the Roman see. 'Free also,' he writes, 'in this respect as it is, and liberal as it may be repre-

'sented to be, it must not be forgotten that, in the worst acts 'of inhuman bigotry and wholesale persecution, by which the 'Roman Catholic religion has rendered itself odious, the Galli- 'can church has been as much engaged as the Papal; the 'French bishops have been as remorseless as the Spanish in- 'quisitors,' &c.

Page 171.

For my account of Paleotto I refer to Le Plat's Catalogue, at the close of his edition of the Canons, &c., under 'Doctores legum pro sacro concilio missi.' His life is, of course, in Ciaconius. See Vitæ Pontt. et Cardd. iii. coll. 979—987. Bologna was made archiepiscopal by Gregory XIII., and Paleotto made first archbishop.

Page 173.

At the end of the second paragraph, add—

Information is given by Planck, in his Anecdota ad Hist. C. T., of affairs previous to the last meeting of the Council under Pius IV. In No. XI., the first article, is contained a paper presented to the Emperor Ferdinand by the papal nuncio, J. F. Canobio, bearing date May 2, 1561. The nuncio, prefacing all with the mention of the gift of the blessed rose, requests, in the name of his holiness, that his majesty would send his prelates and ambassadors to the re-opening council, and promises that his holiness, according to the wish of the emperor, will himself, with his whole college of cardinals, appear at the council, if it should appear expedient and necessary—cum ejus sanctitati opportunum et necessarium videbitur—si opus fuerit. This, however, did not appear suitable to the dignity of the pontiff at the present. The nuncio, however, proposed that the emperor should go to Inspruck, and the pope to Bologna, in order that both might be in the neighbourhood. Something is added of a mission to the prince of

the Muscovites, and pecuniary assistance. The answer of his majesty, May 4, only acknowledges the present of the blessed rose, and promises to send learned and eminent men to the council, if those of the Augustan Confession should decline coming. He expresses the pleasure given him by the *conditional* promise of his holiness to attend with his cardinals, and adds, that himself will not grudge to come, not only to Inspruck, but, with God's assistance, to Trent itself, (no very comfortable intimation to the pope.) The electors and princes of the Augsburg Confession were very averse to his and his holiness's wishes, and had sent him an answer in Latin and German, which he transmitted to his holiness, that he might provide what remedy he was able.

Page 177, line 19.

For *degree* read *decree.*

Page 203.

After the end of the second paragraph, '*hear again.*'

It may not be irrelevant to introduce here an incident of English history connected with the Council of Trent. It appears, from a document which will be referred to, that an application had been made by the Papists of England, through some single individual, to the council, sitting some time in the year 1562, for its decision respecting the legality of attending the service of the church of England by members of the church of Rome. It was determined by ten of the fathers, who are named, (for it was deemed imprudent to make the subject general and public,) that the act was illegal. The document is to be seen in Hist. Miss. Ang. Soc. Jesu, &c. ab H. Moro, Audom. 1660, lib. iii. § v.—x. In a very curious tract by a Popish secular, 'A Safegard from Shipwracke to a Prudent 'Catholike, wherein it is proved that a Catholike may goe to the 'Protestant Church,' &c., published by Dan. Featley under the

title *Vertumnus Romanus*, London, 1642, the subject is discussed at some length, pp. 7, &c., where the author, giving the number of the fathers determining to the effect stated, affirms them to have been twelve; that the English Bishop of Worcester, though present, was omitted; and that the whole was obtained *for temporal ends*, *covertly*, and *by indirect means*. He points out the Jesuits as the authors; and the object, *that* of obliging the youth, in particular, of England to seek their education in foreign parts, where *they* would be the instructors, and reap the benefit. There can be little doubt that this writer was perfectly in the secret, and perfectly right. The terms in which the opinion of the fathers is delivered are as follows:—Minime vobis sine scelere, divinaque indignatione licere ejusmodi hæreticorum precibus, illorumve concionibus interesse, ac longe multumque præstare quævis atrocissima incommoda perpeti, quam in profligatissimis sceleratissimisque ritibus quovis signo consentire. The singular number occurs twice as designating the writer. The date is 1562—nothing more.

I had written what precedes before I noticed, in the very valuable Catalogue of Messrs. Howell and Co. of books relating to the Church of Rome, published in 1829, under the head of *Trent*, No. 3131, 'Declaration of the Fathers of the Coun-'cil of Trent, concerning the going unto Churches at such time 'as heretical service is said, or heresy preached; Lat. and Eng. '18mo.' This little tract was doubtless printed by the Romanists under the sanction of their priesthood, for the purpose of putting a stop to a practice which had a natural and quiet, but certain tendency to reconcile the subjects of Rome to the Anglican church. Where is this tract to be found? It does not appear in the Catalogue of the Bodleian library: I have not the last of the British Museum, and cannot therefore speak to that.

Page 209, line 18.

Naziansum should be *Nazianzum*.

Page 216, line 4.

Dele as nuncio.

Page 224.

At the end of the continued Note.

A striking proof of the progressive, and it may turn out imprudent, boldness of the Romanists, is afforded by the Roman Catholic Magazine for June, 1835, p. clv., which announces, with some authority, a more extended indulgence than one of seven years. It professes to derive its intelligence from a correspondent of the Freeman's Journal—Holy Week in Rome in 1835.

On Good Friday, 'the preacher, at the end of his sermon, 'proceeded to the Pope's throne, and kneeling before his holi-'ness, demanded only an indulgence of thirty days and thirty 'quarantines for all present. On pronouncing the words "in-"dulgentias, pater sancte," the Pope replied to him, "triginta "annorum," granting the indulgence for thirty *years*, which 'the preacher afterwards proclaimed in the following terms:—

'"S. S. P. D. N. D. Gregorius divina Providentia Papa "XVI., dat et concedit omnibus hic præsentibus annos triginta "et totidem quadrigenas, de vera indulgentia in forma ecclesiæ "consueta. Rogate igitur Deum pro felici statu sanctitatis suæ "et sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ." '

Page 241.

Respecting the epithet unbloody, as applied to the sacrifice of the Mass, it may be observed—

The application of this epithet to the *person* of our Saviour evidently arose, whether through ignorance or fraud, or both united, from the original and just application of it to the literal offerings on the holy table, and particularly the literal bread and wine. See S. Deylingii Insigniores Rom. Ecc. Variationes circa S. Euch. Lips. 1726, § xi. xii. See likewise

P. Du Moulin on the Mass, Book iii. ch. 1, 21, 26, where the reader may see satisfactorily proved, from the very Canon of the Mass, the transfer of expressions relating to the literal offerings on what was then properly called the altar, to the thing signified by the holy sacrament—a fact which affords a complete key to the entire papal illusion upon the subject.

Page 247.

End of the Note on the religious wars of France.

There are some excellent remarks, much to the same purpose, in Pierre Jurieu's Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence affligée, subjoined to his Politique du Clergé de France, Ams. 1682, Deuxième Entretien; and more extendedly, as well as elaborately, in his Histoire du Calvinisme, &c. Rott. 1683. Sec. Partie, ch. ix. et x., where he observes that the opponents of the reformed on this subject forget, or suppress, the first forty years of strictly *passive* endurance; and the wars he considers as principally of a *civil* character. There is another work bearing upon the same point, L'Esprit de Jésus Christ sur la Tolérance, in answer to the Apology for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by the infamous Jesuit, Novi, calling himself Abbé de Caveirac, and the original of Dr. Lingard in his exposed and exploded palliation of the St. Bartholomew. The author, it appears from Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, iv. 335, ed. 1820, was F. G. de la Broue, and the book was published in 1759. It is throughout a triumphant refutation of his serpentine opponent on both subjects, and candidly admits that the conduct of the persecuted Christians of France might have been more *heroic* had it been perfectly *passive* throughout. But is there no tolerance for human infirmity under extreme temptation? or are suffering Christians the only class of the species to whom it is to be refused by partakers of the same nature?

Page 252, at the end of the first Note.

The mutual anathemas of the fathers of the council against each other is set at perfect rest by the Acts of Nic. Psaulme, Bishop of Verdun, where he writes, with relation to the particular scene, Continuo Episcopi Itali applaudentes dicto legato cœperunt vociferari, et pedum strepitu interpellare dictum Guadixensem episcopum, tanquam *Anathema*, non audiendum, sed per judices (cui dari petebant) puniendum, &c. And again, soon after, the Cardinal of Lorraine is represented as reprobating the indecorousness of such conduct—Vociferari et verbis *anathematis* uti adversus eos, qui minus ipsis placerent. C. L. Hugonis Accessiones, &c. Conc. Trid. illust. Franc. 1744, p. 339; or Le Plat, Mon. vii. Part ii. p. 92.

Page 261, line 13 from bottom.

For *Vienna* read *Vienne*.

Page 266.

At the end of the fourth paragraph, concerning Morone's interview with the Emperor at Inspruck.

This interview, which is related by Sarpi, vii. 81, has some new light thrown upon it by the MS. treasures of the Royal Library of the University of Göttingen. In the Anecdota ad Hist. C. T. pert. Fasc. I. by Prorector G. J. Planck, we have two letters,—one of the Emperor to the Archduke of Austria, in which he announces his communication of the writings containing an account of the transactions between the parties; and which, as being peculiarly confidential, he wishes to be restricted to the personal perusal of his correspondent. It is dated May 16, 1563, Inspruck. The other, which is dated the day before, is *private*, from the Emperor to his ambassadors in the council, and designates the same writings, A. B. C.

D. E. and F., to be *partially only* communicated to the French and Spanish ambassadors: beyond that, to be *carefully concealed.* And there was added a *Summarium*, marked G., which was to be *openly* and freely communicated. That Summarium was first published by Martene, and is to be found in Le Plat, Monum. vi. 15, *et seq.* Another letter of the emperor to his ambassadors, in Planck's 2nd Fasc., was intended to be public. The most observable points in the Summarium are—the wish of the emperor to avoid superfluous questions; the claim of *proposing* subjects in behalf of his ambassadors; freedom of discussion; certain ecclesiastical reformations; addition to the *one* secretary of the council; and an excuse of the emperor from receiving the crown at Bologna. Planck has justly observed that this interview had a considerable influence on the speedy termination of the council, when it met again for the last time: but other causes—indeed, every cause bearing upon it—concurred.

Page 268.

At the end of the Note on the cause for forbearing to interfere in the affairs of England.

Strong claims have been advanced in behalf of Pius VII., both to the praise of liberality and to the gratitude of the English, for his daring to incur the resentment of the Emperor Napoleon rather than assent to the proposal, by the latter, of an alliance, offensive and defensive, against this nation. With no desire to detract from the merit of the pontiff in this respect, his own deliberate statement will best discover the nature and measure of it. In the Complément de la Correspondance de la Cour de Rome avec Buonaparte, par A. Muzarelli, Paris, 1814, is contained an Allocution of the 16th of March, 1808, where his holiness, informing the consistory of the circum-

stance, observes, that he did not object to shut his ports against the English, which he thought they would not much regard; but as to declaring and making war against them, it should be considered, he urged, that there were thousands of Catholics in that country, Canada, and the two Indies, who enjoyed perfect liberty in their own worship, and in communication with the holy see, who might be deprived of these advantages, if the British government were provoked by the declaration of an unjust war against it—a consequence which could not be reflected upon without the bitterest remorse. Des milliers....partout ils exercent librement le culte catholique, et sans qu'on les force ou qu'on les en empêche, ils sont réunis à nous comme au chef de l'Eglise; enfin ils jouissent d'une pleine et entière liberté pour communiquer avec nous tout ce qui a rapport à la religion, quand ils en ont besoin, ainsi que nous. Si le gouvernement brittanique, irrité de ce que nous lui aurions injustement déclaré la guerre, sans qu'il nous eût attaqué, sans qu'il nous eût provoqué en aucune manière, eût commencé à nous affliger et à persécuter ces catholiques, ou leur eût défendu toute espèce de communication avec nous, quelle tache pour nous! Quels remords, &c. pp. 23, 4. The policy of Rome never varies: she takes good care of her own subjects; and *they* are much indebted to her. But this admission in the year 1808 is remarkable.

Page 269.

Of the Thurible and Pax there mentioned.

The Thurible, or Censer, is a vessel in which was burned the incense which, in the mass, was applied to the communicant. The Pax is thus, to all appearance accurately, described in Rees's Cyclopædia—'A small metallic plate, commonly of 'silver, with the representation of the crucifixion engraved upon

'it, which was kissed by the priest at a certain part of the mass, 'he repeating, at the same time, "*Pax tecum*—Peace be to "you;" and afterwards by the assistants, in token of fraternal 'charity.' If the reader wish for something more minute and authentic, he may consult Gavanti Thes. Soc. Rit. Ven. 1713, tom. i. pp. 116—8. He may there likewise see how little ceremony *Italian* Romanists make in talking of *adoring the sacrament*. They are *English* Romanists alone who, on this point, dissemble and falsify. The Glossarium of Du Cange, &c., or the abridgment by Adelung, will supply information to the same amount.

Page 305.

At the end of the first paragraph, respecting the enactments of the XXIVth Session, add—

It may not be amiss to observe, in ch. ix. of the Decree of Marriage, the prohibition to *temporal lords*, or *magistrates*, under penalty of *anathema*, incurred by the fact, against interfering with the liberty of marriage. And in ch. i. and xii. of the other reforming Decree, it is worthy of notice how stealthily the subsequent creed and oath of Pius IV. was provided for. First, with respect to candidates for *bishoprics* and cardinalates, it is required that, with other testimonials, they shall simply transmit to his holiness a *profession of faith*. But in the larger provision, which concerns *all benefices* with cure of souls, the incumbent, within two months from possession, is required to make, before the bishop, or his vicar or official, *a public profession of his orthodox faith, and to promise and swear that he will continue in obedience to the Roman church* —Orthodoxæ suæ fidei publicam facere professionem, et in Rom. ecclesiæ obedientia se permansuros spondeant, ac jurent. Canonries and other dignities have the same condition an-

nexed. Of all this the pontiff availed himself in due time; and we find, in the bull which enacted the new and enlarged creed and oath, embodying the most acceptable doctrines of the council, for the efficient members of the Roman church, the very words of the preceding decree, as given above, repeated, as the express ground of the profession of faith then formally propounded, and entitled *Super forma juramenti professionis fidei.* In the edition of the Canons and Decrees, Ant. 1633, the Creed of Pius IV. is inserted in the XXIVth Session.

Page 313.

The fact of *three* of the Fathers dissenting from the proposition for the confirmation of the council by the Pope, is supported by the additional testimony of Nic. Psaulme, Bishop of Verdun, in his Diarium, first published by Hugo, 1744, p. 400, and afterwards by Le Plat, tom. vii. part ii. Omnibus placuit, præterquam tribus, qui noluerant aliam confirmationem. As Le Plat's edition of the Canons, &c. was published before his Monumenta, *this* does not appear with the *other* various readings in the proper place, p. 326. I have never seen it observed, that the French translation of the council by Gentian Hervet, printed at Rheims in 1564, *Avec Privilege du Roy*, has, at fol. 222, *verso*, the same notice of the three dissentients—*Excepté trois seulement.* The editions of 1586 and 1588 follow it.

Page 314, at the end of the continued Note.

The Council of Trent has been characterized, and not unjustly, as the most anathematizing, or execrating, which was ever held. The gross amount of the spiritual thunderbolts which it discharged is one hundred and thirty-one. The particulars are as follow—

Session.	*Subject.*	*Number.*
V.	Original Sin,	5
VI.	Justification,	33
VII.	Sacraments,	13
——	Baptism,	14
——	Confirmation,	3
XIII.	Eucharist,	11
XIV.	Penitence,	15
——	Extreme Unction,	4
XXI.	Comm. under both kinds,	4
XXII.	Sacrifice of Mass,	9
XXIII.	Order,	8
XXIV.	Matrimony,	12
	Total of Anathemas,	131

The poor heretics—the Protestants, Reformers, or restored Christians—whom it was thus intended effectually to demolish, might bear their fate the more patiently, from the consideration that the good fathers who cursed them with so much resolution and zeal, could not forbear, on competent, and not very violent, provocation, as we have seen, to curse one another.

Page 317.

On the easy acquisition of Absolution.

See Conc. Trid. Sess. XIV. c. vii.; or Burroughs's View of Popery, 2d ed. 1737, pp. 149, &c.

Page 322.

After line 4, and at the close of the Council.

It ought not to be overlooked, how, at the very close of the concluding session, and before the decrees of the whole council were recited, the rulers had provided that the entire of its enactments should be subject to the will of the Pope, by in-

serting, '*that, in the case of such difficulty as should require* '*declaration or definition, besides the remedies provided by* '*the council, the synod trusted that the pontiff would take care* '*that, with the assistance of individuals from the provinces* '*where the difficulty might arise, and by a future council, or* '*by some other means, at his discretion, the tranquillity of the* '*church should be secured.*' We shall see what advantage was taken of the suggestion.

Page 323, at the end.

Although the confirmation of the council by the Pope, which, it was carried by the last session, to petition, forms no part of the council itself, nor of the MSS. which I have principally followed, yet is there so much in that confirmation characteristic of Rome and its sovereign, that inducement enough is afforded for giving it some attention.

Unwilling as the pontiff was to bind himself by confirming the council, he made himself ample amends, when he found the act necessary, by reserving to himself the interpretation of its enactments; for, as is the interpretation so is the law, be the law what it may. And we shall perceive that the spiritual sovereign not only secured the nullity of the council as to any operation injurious to himself, but made an advantage of it to increase his own authority.

Little attention is due to a desultory and confused oration of the pontiff in a consistory on the 30th of December, 1563, in which, however, he does not fail to improve a vindication of his own sincerity to the claim of reserving to himself the correction or supply which the provisions of the council might yet need*.

The confirmation was proposed in form in a secret consistory

* See Le Plat, Monum. vi. 306, *et seqq.* He refers to Mansi, Suppl. tom. v. coll. 617.

held on the 26th of January, 1564, when Cardinal Farnese, as vice-chancellor, attested the petition to his holiness, for the confirmation to all and singular the decrees of the council; to which his holiness graciously assented *.

The confirmation itself is contained in a bull of the same date, in the fifth and sixth sections of which occurs the passage most entitled to notice, in which the pontiff guards against the danger of private interpretation, by forbidding to all ecclesiastics and others, on pain of excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, any commentary or interpretation of the decrees of the council, in any form or manner, without his consent. If, he adds, any obscurity requiring interpretation should appear, let the doubtful 'ascend to the place which the Lord hath chosen, 'to wit, the Apostolic See, the mistress of all the faithful, whose 'authority even the holy synod itself so reverently acknowledges. 'For we, if any difficulties arise, agreeably to the decree of the 'holy synod itself, reserve to ourselves the determination of 'them, ready to provide, as may seem good to us, according to 'the trust deservedly reposed in us, for all the necessities of 'every province †.'

His holiness had authority from the council to issue certain constitutions for putting its provisions in execution. This affords his ambition a new stepping-stone. His commands were less diligently observed than he desired. In a Motus Proprius of the 2d of August, in the same year, he complains of this; and thereupon, as he announces, institutes a Con-

* See the document in most of the collections of the Canons and Decrees of the Council, Le Plat's in particular.

† Cujus auctoritatem etiam ipsa sancta Synodus tam reverenter agnovit. Nos enim difficultates et controversias, si quæ ex eis decretis ortæ fuerint, nobis declarandas, quemadmodum ipsa quoque sancta Synodus decrevit, reservamus, parati, sicut de nobis merito confisa est, omnium provinciarum necessitatibus, ea ratione, quæ commodior nobis visa fuerit, providere.

gregation of Cardinals, to ensure the execution of, not only the decrees of the council, but likewise his own subsequent ones, under spiritual and pecuniary penalties, and, if need be, by an appeal to the secular arm, except where doubts may exist, which are to be referred to him; and this notwithstanding any previous constitutions, &c., though confirmed by oath *.

Sixtus V. was not a pope of half measures; and finding something to add on this subject, in the Eighth of the Fifteen Congregations which he established or confirmed, he provided to recognise his own singular authority to call, confirm, and interpret General Councils. He extended the authority of the congregation as far as to interpretation, except in doubtful cases, in which it was necessary that he should be consulted. In minor cases of morals, reformation, and discipline, he allowed the members to decide; but higher matters, particularly where favours were to be granted, were reserved to his holiness †. This long constitution bears the date March 23, 1587.

From all this, it will appear plainly enough that the sovereigns of the Roman church did not mean to lose by the Council of Trent; and it was certainly not their fault if they did.

Page 326.

On the mockery of discussion on the papal side in the Colloquy of Ratisbon, in 1546.

This is remarkably confirmed by the interesting history De Morte Sancti viri Joannis Diazii Hispani, &c., per Claudium Senarclæum, 1546, p. 72, where the martyr, giving an account of his private conversation with Malvenda at the colloquy,

* See Bullarium Magnum, under the date.

† Majora ad nos referat, qui fratribus nostris Episcopis, quantum cum Domino licet, gratificari cupimus.'

represents him as concluding thus :—Frustra, inquit Malvenda, huc venisti. Nam in hoc toto colloquio nihil omnino constitueretur.—Cum igitur ego audirem Malvendam disertè profitentem, nihil omnino fieri debere in colloquio Ratisbonensi, facile intellexi omnia Pontificiorum consilia esse fraudulenta, à quibus incolumi religionis integritate nulla esset speranda concordia.

On the virtual denial of Reserved Cases by the Irish pseudo-bishops, see Parliamentary Report on the State of Ireland, before the Commons, in the examination of Dr. Doyle, March 18, 1825, p. 196; and Phillpotts's Letters to Charles Butler, Esq. pp. 439, &c.

Page 333.

Of Henry, Cardinal Duke of York, Bishop of Frascati, there mentioned, it may be interesting to be informed that a medal was struck to his honour in Rome in 1788, the centenary of the Revolution, with the legend round the head—HEN. IX. MAG. BRIT. FR. ET HIB. REX. FID. DEF. CARD. EP. TUSC. The reverse is a figure with a cross; the legend—NON . DESIDERIIS . HOMINUM . SED . VOLUNTATE . DEI. Exergue—AN. MCCLXXXVIII. The medal, in bronze, is in my possession.

After a reference to the disgusting passage to be found in Appendix of the Constitutiones Synodales of the Card. Duke of York, in the same page, add—

There is matter almost equally offensive on the subject of Reserved Cases in a small work, Tractatus de Casibus Reservatis in Nova Diœcesi Gandavensi, Jussu ac Auctoritate illust. et Reverend. Episcopi, &c. 1805, p. 42. The tract has the autograph of J. F. Vandevelde. See more on this subject in my *Spiritual Venality of Rome*—the 2d ed. of the *Taxatio Papalis*, pp. 110, &c.

Page 372.

On the sentence laudatory of the deified Virgin Mary, at the end of the Encyclical letter of the Pope, *quæ sola universas hæreses interemit,* where a reference is *added* by some officious editor—S. Aug.—I would farther suggest, that the considerate critic might not think it so well to refer to the Missal and Breviary; in the *first* of which, and in the Missa Votiva de Sancta Maria may be found the words twice repeated — Gaude Maria virgo, *cunctas hæreses sola interemisti;* and in the *second,* in the Officium parvum B. Mariæ, the same, with an addition—Gaude Maria virgo, *cunctas hæreses sola interemisti in universo mundo.* The same sentence appears in the blasphemous parody of the Athanasian Creed, at the end of Bonaventure's Psalterium Mariæ, in an edition of the type of Martin Flack, and ascribed to the year 1475. Is this, or are the service books, the original?

I am unwilling to omit, although out of place, as referring to p. 78, where the *Quæstors* are mentioned, a notice of that fraternity by a council at Beziers in 1247, which will perfectly dispel any possible surprise, or doubt, at the infamous manner in which they are reported to have frequently exercised their calling—Cum *certum* sit per venales ac conductores quæstores, tum ex prava ipsorum vita, tum ex prædicatione erronea, multa scandalosa provenisse, *damnatis in inferno liberationem pro modica pecunia promittentes.* Capit. v. Labb. et Coss. Conc. xi. fol. 678, 9.

I TAKE this opportunity of adding, that, unfortunately, in the Supplement to my Life and Pontificate of Pius V., and in the attempt there to present the notorious declaration of Francis Plowden, Esq., respecting the unchangeableness of his church, in an accurate state, I was not sufficiently informed, as to the internal dissensions of the Roman Catholic body, (the subject of the voluble conveyancer's pamphlet,) to avoid a mistake relative to the side which he took in the dispute. That mistake, however, which in no degree affects the sense or application of the particular sentence quoted from his work, may the more readily be excused, since, at the time, I could only take a hasty view of the volume in the British Museum. I have since obtained it, together with the Three Blue Books and Letters of Dr. Milner, after his transit from Vetoism to Anti-vetoism—all relative to the same internal dispute, and of some value as well as curiosity. I accordingly soon saw my mistake. In the copy of Dr. Milner's self-bepraised work, there are pencil MS. remarks, directly the reverse of laudatory, which seem to have come from the hand of Sir Henry Englefield. It is remarkable that, in the sentence in question, as it stands in the pamphlet itself of Mr. Plowden, there is an *omission of the negative*, which the evident sense absolutely requires to be supplied.

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